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TWO NEW HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS OF THE GREAT ACHAEMENIAN KING DARIUS HYSTASPES (522—486 B.C.)*

J. M. UNWALLA, PH. D.

Some years ago a Persian discovered on his property in the vicinity of Hamadan two plates, one of gold and the other of silver. He sold them to a Jew probably at its intrinsic metal value. Not knowing that the plates had inscriptions engraved on them, the Jew cut them to pieces before smelting them. A sayyad, a dealer in antiques, became aware of the inscriptions on the plates and bought them from the Jew. He had the pieces of the gold and silver plates, of the latter there are eight, put together and photographed. Thereupon, he sent two sets of photos to Dr. Saïd Khan Kurdistanî of Teheran, who had brought to the notice of Dr. Cowley of Oxford in 1914 the three Avroman parchments which proved to be the unique written documents of the Parthian period.* The latter sent one set of photos to Dr. Cowley of Oxford and of the other set he gave the photo of the gold plate to Dr. Modi of Bombay, while he was on a visit in Teheran. I got from him, as loan, the photo of the silver plate, which I reproduced with his permission.

The photograph shows that the silver plate has three cuneiform inscriptions in a space about $10\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ cm. in three languages, Ancient Persian, Elamite and Babylonian, languages in which the official records of the Achaemenian Kings, Darius Hystaspes and his successors, were chiselled on the rocks of Behistun and Naqshe Rostam, and on the gates and windows of the palaces at Persepolis, and on the bases of the columns of the Apadana of Artaxerxes II in Susa. The Ancient Persian and Babylonian inscriptions are engraved on eight lines each, whereas the Elamite one on seven. These inscriptions are separated by a blank space between two lines. The actual size of the silver plate is said to be 18×19 cm.

* This note was read by Dr. Unwalla at a Meeting of the Zarthoshti Din-ni Khol Karnari Mandli, held in the premises of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute on the 24th September 1926. During the discussion on the note, I had the pleasure of submitting for inspection a photograph of the golden plate, referred to in the note, which I had received at Teheran during my visit of that city in November 1925. The photo is reproduced at the end of the paper.

Editor.

The size of the gold plate is about $23\frac{1}{2} \times 23\frac{1}{2}$ cm. Its thickness is 2 mm. It has the same inscriptions as the silver plate.

These plates are important, apart from linguistic, from historical standpoint. They reveal to us three main hitherto unknown facts: (1) that the Achaemenians used to lay in the foundation of their palaces gold and silver plates with inscriptions, like their predecessors the Babylonians and the Assyrians; (2) that Darius I had built a palace in Ecbatana, modern Hamadan, after 518 B.C.; (3) That he conquered the Scythes of Transsogdiana after 518 B.C., who are not mentioned in the Inscriptions of Naqshe-Rustam (N.R. a § 3) from which we know only that he had conquered the Amyrgish Scythes, the Scythes wearing pointed helmets, and the Scythes living on the other side of the sea, *i.e.*, the Bosphorus and the Black Sea.

In the transcription of cuneiform inscriptions, no two Assyriologists are of one accord. They want to simplify it by using as little as possible ambiguous letters in order to represent a cuneal or a group of cuneals; but they make it much more complicated in their learned simplicity by using a number of diacritical signs. I follow the transcription of F. H. Weissbach given in his book called "Die Keilinschriften der Achaemeniden" —Leipzig 1911.

The Ancient Persian text is the original one, whereas the Elamite and Babylonian ones are its very faithful versions, with insignificant variations, which have crept in through linguistic peculiarities of the respective languages.

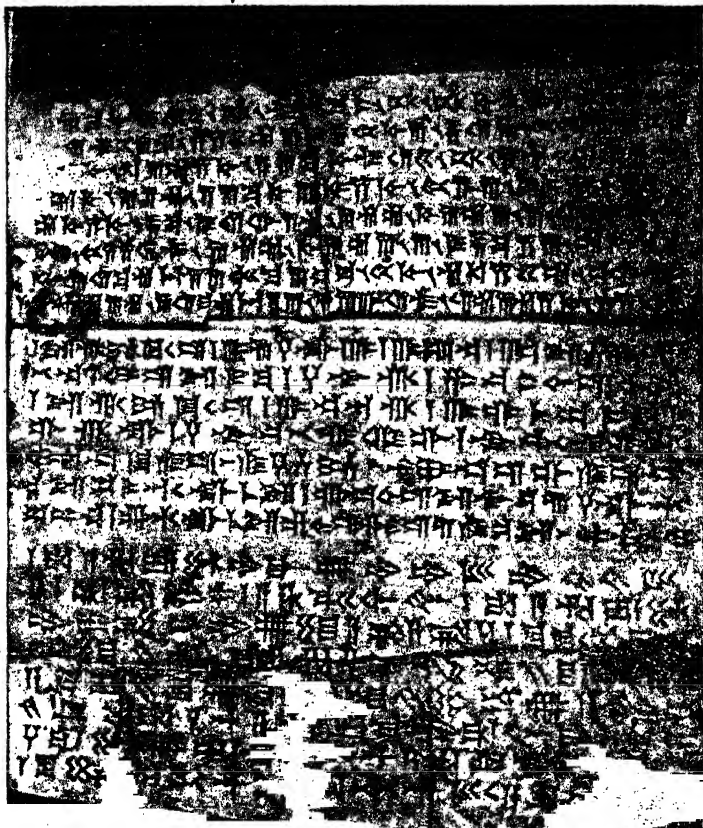
I refer to a detailed report on my paper published in the issue of the *Jame Jamshed* of the 30th September 1926 for further information on these plates.

The transcription of the Ancient Persian text is as follows:—

¹ dāraja_uauš kšāja_{ti}ja uazarka kšāja_{ti}ja kšaja_{ti}iānām
kšaja_{ti}ja dah ² iunām uistāspahiā pusra ha_kāmani ³ šija
tati_i dāraja_uauš kšāja_{ti}ja ima kšasram ⁴ tiā adam dāraia_mi
hakā sakibiš ⁵ ti_iai para sugdam āmata iātā ā kušā ha ⁶ k
hīduy āmata iātā ā spardā tiāmai ⁷ i auramazdā prābara hia
ma_išta bagān ⁸ am mām auramazdā pātu_y utāmai_i u_iam.

The translation :

Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands, the son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian. Says Darius the King : this kingdom, which I possess from (the land of) the Scythians (who live) beyond Sogdia upto Nubia, (and) from India upto Sardes, Auramazdā brought it forward to me, who is the greatest of the gods. May Auramazdā protect me and my family as well.



“THE HISTORICAL EPIC, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE SHAHNAMEH.”*

BY PROF. FIROZE COWASJI DAVAR, M.A., LL. B.
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Human knowledge may be said to have originated either in wonder or in fear. The earliest gleam of civilization now visible through the complex fabric of modern culture had assumed the universally prevalent form of Nature-worship. Man bowed his head reverently in admiration of Nature in her beneficent forms, while he crouched in terror and worshipped in awe the fierce and frowning moods of Nature “red in tooth and claw.” It is recorded in Proverbs I: 7 that “the fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge,” while a great saying is attributed to S. T. Coleridge: “In wonder philosophy begins, in wonder philosophy ends, and admiration fills up the interspace.” Ever since primeval man put to himself the question “how,” science in her faintest and earliest form dawned on the earth; his question “why” gradually opened to him the treasures of philosophy; his question “when” led him to remember and ultimately record the occurrences of the past, and thus was Clio, the Muse of History, enthroned in the realms of knowledge. But ever since man began to *feel*, poetry flowed from the human heart. J. G. Hamann, the German philosopher, sententiously observes: “Poetry is the mother-tongue of the human race: in the same way that the garden is older than the ploughed field, painting than writing, song than declamation, barter than trade.” There is no time or place on record wherein poetry in her crudest and most rudimentary form did not exist. Man’s primeval smiles and tears, his earliest religions, mythologies and histories were all poetic.

The most ancient form of amusement with our ancestors was dancing, and, says Mr. T. F. Henderson, it cannot be said with certainty whether man, when he emerged from the ape first, exhibited his powers of singing or dancing or both simultaneously. The earliest form of poetry was the ballad, a mixture of song and dance, derived from the French “ballare” to dance.

* This paper formed the subject of a lecture was delivered at the Institute premises by Prof. Davar on Monday, the 25th April 1927, under the presidentship of Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan, Esqr., M. A., LL. B. (Solicitor).

The popular ballad or folk poetry ("lok katha" or "lok gita" in the vernacular) is the seed from which has sprouted the mighty oak-tree of literature with its numerous branches and offshoots. An attempt had been made by this writer elsewhere to show how the epic evolved out of ballad poetry, and it does not seem necessary to cover the same ground at present.

Mr. F. W. Newman defines epic as a compromise between poetry and history, but both epic and history have to be evolved from the ballad. An epic is a ballad writ large. An epic is produced by idealizing, exalting and magnifying the characters and incidents in ballad-poetry, giving full vent to the imagination, appealing powerfully to the readers' emotions, and by handling a grand subject in a suitably grand style. Contrariwise, history is derived from a collection of ballads when the writer weighs his facts by taking all possible evidence on the subject, sifts the false from the true, and keeps his eye fixed only on the truth by demolishing as best he can the four Baconian idols. The epic has dignity, sublimity, comprehensiveness and variety: Clio is satisfied if she wears but one jewel—too rare a commodity on earth—Truth. The epic with its idealizing tendency soars high; history aiming at truth penetrates downward in accordance with the words of Dryden:—"Errors like straws upon the surface flow; He who would search for pearls must dive below."

To bring about a mixture of epic and history is thus as difficult as to attempt to look up with the right eye and down with the left. Generally a historical epic is either all poetry with a slight historical background or a dry-as-dust chronicle of facts and dates devoid of the poetic afflatus. It requires the genius of a Firdousi to bring about the proper fusion between epic and history.

In ancient times it was by no means easy to distinguish between ballads and history. Herodotus in the fifth century B. C. used to recite his history in the streets, and people were at a loss to judge whether they heard history or poetry. Tacitus in his "De Moribus Germanorum" observes that early German history existed in the form of songs. Even now it is difficult to say whether the "Rāsmālā" of Mr. Forbes or the "Rājasthān" of Col. Tod (being traditional histories of Gujerat and Rajputana respectively written in the 19th century) are epics or history. The Bible contains within its comprehensive bounds a variety of literary forms, and Dr. Moulton in his "Literary Study of the Bible" supplies the "key to distinguish

between epic and history. The critic, he says, should try to consider whether any part of the book under consideration fires the feelings and appeals to the imagination and æsthetic sense as only creative poetry can do ; if so, that portion is epic, the rest may be history. Thus in the Bible, in the Jacob cycle there is embedded the epic of Joseph ; in the " Rājasthān " passages like the battle of Haldighāt and the fight near Chitor may be said to rise to epic heights ; those that refuse to soar by the dead weight of fact appended to them are history.

It is always advisable that the prime material of an epic should be real or historical, not fictitious, because people are not permanently interested in fiction, when used as the basis of epic poetry. People turn with greater pride and reverence to the statues of Socrates and Cæsar than they do to the sculptured figures of the goddesses of Reason and Victory. When history lends her strength to sublime poetry, the resultant epic becomes the epitome of some mighty epoch, the summary of a glorious civilization. It fires the national consciousness of the people, and brings home to them as no other form of literature can do what greatness and magnificence their country once enjoyed. Great epics are popular and successful according as they faithfully represent national traditions in stirring verse as Firdousi has done. An epic ceases to become truly national when it becomes " artificial " in subsequent literary ages by paying overmuch attention to the style and the body of the composition, allowing its soul to starve.

But a historical subject in epic poetry is attended by peculiar difficulties. The subject being historical, the writer is unable to indulge in imaginative flights, and what is an epic or any other form of poetry devoid of imagination ? Again a historical subject is well-known to the readers, who consequently feel no particular curiosity to learn what is already familiar to all. As remarked above, the epic writer cannot use fiction as the basis of his composition, and he thus finds himself between the devil and the deep sea. The safest course for him is, as Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie observes, to take up a very remote incident belonging to the hoary past, round which many legends may have gathered in course of time. The subject being semi-historical, the epic will be welcomed as national property, and since it is partly legendary, the writer feels himself at liberty to colour and magnify his accounts by the depiction of glowing pictures, for which he relies to a certain extent on his powers of imagination. Jamshid and Zohāk, Rāma and Krishna,

Arthur, Charlemagne and even Prithvirāj Chouhān are excellent subjects for epic treatment. But epics written on subjects too near the times of the poet himself are generally not successful. Rānā Pratāp, Shivāji and Napoleon are epic and heroic personalities, but they may be considered too near our times to form the subjects of historical epics. Lucan's "Pharsalia," Barbour's "Bruce," Blind Harry's "Wallace," Camoen's "Luciad" and Voltaire's "Henriade" are epics whose heroes flourished only a short time prior to the poets who have commemorated their deeds, and this fact mars to a certain extent the greatness of these works; for it was not always easy for these poets to successfully encounter the difficulty of dressing up their too familiar historic figures in uncommon epic apparel. For instance, Barbour was born in 1316—only two years after his hero Bruce triumphed in the battle of Bannockburn. Barbour aimed at writing true history, but in his "Bruce," according to M. Jusserand everything succeeds as in a fairy tale. The claims of the epic predominate over love of truth, and without the slightest critical sense miracles are seriously admitted as historical facts. Similarly Camoens was born in 1524—the very year which saw the death of Vasco da Gama, the hero of his epic "Luciad." Camoens too pays the penalty of taking up a subject too near his own times. He tries to weave the old-world epic imagery round the adventures of the modern hero Gama; but the scenes in which Jupiter and Mars favour the Portuguese and Bacchus espouses the cause of their enemies, and the pictures of the sensual paradise where Gama and his men make love to Venus and her nymphs are outrageously absurd, and almost verge on the burlesque.

But then these remarks do not apply to the Indian epics, the Rāmāyan, written by Vālmiki, a contemporary of Rāma, and the Mahābhārat, attributed to Vyāsa, the progenitor as well as the contemporary of the Pāndavas and the Kauravas. The fact is that these Indian epics were not written by an individual or two, but they contain the intellectual wealth of India poured into them by many of the poets of this country through the course of centuries. Vyāsa, for instance, is said to have written a poem of 8800 Shlokas called "Jaya" or "Bhārat," which was much elaborated by his disciple Vaishampāyana, when he recited it before King Janmajaya, the great-grandson of the Pāndava Arjuna on the occasion of the serpent-sacrifice. Numerous additions continued to be made to the poem, till from an epic it was transformed into an encyclopædia, and was finally edited about 200 B. C. by Sauti or Suta Purāni and named the "Mahābhārat," a huge pile under which Vyāsa's

original "Bhārat" lies hopelessly and inextricably buried. It is not therefore just to apply the above remarks, which suit the Western epics, to the two Eastern works in their present condition.

In a historical epic a certain amount of liberty can be taken with historical truth as Shakespeare does in his dramas and Scott in his novels. In order to heighten the greatness of a hero, fictitious incidents and even characters are invented, and persons who flourished slightly before or after the hero are represented as his contemporaries. These inventions and anachronisms are pardonable, provided that substantial historical truth is not perverted, and the essential spirit of the age is preserved. It was Lucan's error in the "Pharsalia" to unduly exalt Pompey and blacken Cæsar with the tar-brush. To take an instance recently discussed in one of the literary societies of Gujerat, it may be said that if an artificial epic on the adventures of Rāma were to be composed in which Sita were to be described as false to her marriage vows when she was in the "ashoka-van" of Rāvana, it would simply be bringing about a *reductio ad absurdum* of the Rāmāyana. Apart from the blasphemy involved in such a view of the matter, this impudence, which the misguided modern writer thinks to be art, would cut at the very root of religion, history and epic.

In the fusion of epic and history the highest place may be assigned to the Shāhnāme. Most of the epics are based on the adventures of individuals; for instance, the Iliad on the wrath of Achilles, the Odyssey on the wanderings of Ulysses, the Chanson de Roland on the adventures of Roland, the Cid on the heroism of the Cid himself, the Nibelungenlied largely on the fortunes of Siegfried, the Rāmāyan on the life and death of Rāma. Some epics record the fortunes of a family, for instance, the Mahābhārat is based on the wars between the cousins, the Pāndavas and the Kauravas, while Statius' "Thebaid" describes the war between the brothers Eteocles and Polynices. Some epics at the most depict the rise and fall of a dynasty; for instance Kālidāsa's artificial epic "Raghuvansh"; there are other epics which are largely taken up with descriptions of warfare; for instance Naevius' "Bellum Punicum" and Tasso's "Gerusalemme Liberata." But there are few epics in the world like the Shāhnāme, which combine the contrary functions of poetry and history, and which besides being poetry of a high order are at the same time a tolerably reliable account of a whole nation's traditional history from

the earliest down to modern times. The "Rāsmālā" and the "Rājasthān" may be set aside, since they are neither fish nor flesh, neither epic nor history, though in certain passages they do figure in one category or the other.

Before coming to the Shāhnāmeḥ it would be well to discuss the claims of other epics similar to it in matter and manner. In the third century B. C. Livius Andronicus wrote a vast epic on Roman history in thirty-five volumes of which not one is saved. Had this work been extant, it might have rivalled the glories of the Mahābhārat itself, but at present it has to be consigned to the limbo of lost existences. Another Roman writer Quintus Ennius wrote about 200 B.C., the "Annales" being a versified account of Roman history from mythical times to his own. Only fragments of the work have escaped the ravages of time, written in a rough, prosaic, unequal form, not to be put beside the pure and chaste expression of Firdousi. Ronsard in the 16th century was the most brilliant star of the French *Pléiad*. He wrote the ancient history of France named "Franciade" tracing the origin of the Franks to Francus, a son of Priam, King of Troy. It is certain that this work does not hold a pre-eminent position in French literature, as a great national epic may undoubtedly be expected to do, but it seems to have issued still-born from the Press. France forgot the epic in the horrors of the Bartholomew Massacre and never cared to revive it afterwards.

In English literature several national epics have to be considered. In 1205 a clergyman named Layamon wrote the "Brut" being the traditional history of England from ancient times, Brut (from whom the word Britain is derived) being the great-grandson of Æneas and the founder of London or Troja Nova. Layamon is the greatest poet between Cædmon and Chaucer, and was the first Englishman to unfold before his countrymen their legendary past—their Lears, Cymbelines and Arthurs. But though he certainly possessed poetic gifts, English expression was not efficiently developed before Chaucer, and Layamon suffers not from his own deficiencies but from those of his age. He wrote in the old English alliterative metre which modern ears find difficult to admire. Sir William Jones considers the Shāhnāmeḥ as only on a par with the "Brut" of Layamon. This statement is unjust to Firdousi, as it leaves out of consideration the question of literary excellence, which is easily solved by comparing the noble, stirring and nervous style of the Persian poet with Layamon's shambling, broken

lines of two short sections. Layamon's valuable services in point of matter need not blind the critic to his deficiencies in point of expression, which is an indispensable element in literature. After Layamon's "Brut" several metrical chronicles were attempted for the use and delight of the English people, but they have all been consigned to oblivion, the only work of that species worthy of a bare mention being the metrical history of Robert of Gloucester written in the last years of the thirteenth century. In 1586 William Warner wrote "Albion's England" and Michael Drayton in 1614 composed his mighty "Polyolbion" in thirty books in nearly one hundred thousand lines. The "Polyolbion" shares with Browning's "Ring and the Book," W. Morris' "Earthly Paradise" and P. J. Bailey's "Festus," the naughty reputation of being one of the longest poems, if not *the* longest poem in the English language. These poems of Warner and Drayton are not deficient in merit, but they are unable to present a proper fusion between history and poetry. The "Polyolbion" contains a vast variety of bric a brac, and ultimately falls dead of its own weight. This encyclopædic work is generally referred to like a curiosity shop for information about old antiquated things in the annals of England.

Swinburne's three "historical dramas" are more appropriately designated "dramatic histories," because the writer pays more attention to the historical element in the work than to its dramatic proprieties. Similarly the "Brut" and especially "Albion's England" and "Polyolbion" should not be called "historical epics" but rather "epical history," for their authors were mainly concerned with the composition of versified history, which here and there rises to epic heights. The Shāhnāmeḥ on the contrary is a historical epic, though as seen later on it does dwindle at last into epical history when dealing with the modern Sāsānian period. The Shāhnāmeḥ may now be examined at greater length.

When a nation is still barbarous there are abundant materials for composing epic poetry but no poet is available, for poets are products of comparatively civilized times; but when in a subsequently refined age the poet is found, it is discovered that the national traditions are on the decline. The poet has therefore to catch the spirit of a moribund or a wholly dead age, and represent its traditions in the form of a story or history, carefully supplementing the lost materials by his balanced imagination. The Parsees cannot be charged with being

negligent in the preservation of their historical records. It is stated about King Ahasuerus in Esther VI: 1 "On that night could not the King sleep, and he commanded to bring the book of records of the chronicles; and they were read before the king." Again in Esther X: 2 it is recorded: "And all the acts of his power and of his might, and the declaration of the greatness of Mordecai, whereunto the king advanced him, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia?" These statements show that the Persian kings even of the Achæmenian dynasty used to preserve their historical records, but there are reasons to believe that these works were subsequently destroyed by the Arabs.

There is no wonder that the Arabs should have entertained hatred for the Iranian traditions, for these "sportive legends" seem to have been condemned in the Surā of Loqmān in the Qorān. European commentators of the Qorān are of opinion that one Naozar ibn al Hāris carried from Persia to Arabia legends like those of Rustam and Asfandiyār, and extolled the power and magnificence of ancient Persian Kings, preferring their stories to those of Ad and Thamud, David and Solomon and others mentioned in the Qoran. Naozar recited these legends to the accompaniment of music and attracted more crowds to himself than the Prophet Mohammad could summon by expounding the word of God. It was then that the 5th and 6th verses of the 31st chapter of the Qorān were revealed, disapproving of these legends, and desiring the Arabs not to pay heed to them. The vandalism of the Arabs in Persia may be judged from a story mentioned by Daulat Shāh Samarqandī in his "Tazkarat-ush-Sho'arā. During the regime of the Abbaside Khalifs, the book of "Wāmiq-o-Uzrā," composed in Pehlavi by order of King Naushirvān, was brought before Amir Abdullāh Tāher, governor of Khorāsān, who ordered it to be destroyed, for he thought it was not desirable for Muslims to read books written by those who were not their co-religionists. He also issued orders that all books found to be written by the infidels of Persia should be immediately consigned to the flames. Sir John Malcolm however overstates the fact when he says that the Arabs made a complete sweep of Iranian literature, and that for 400 years after the Arab conquest not a single soul dared to write on Persian history.

On the other hand, Maulānā Shibli refutes Malcolm and says that several Pehlavi works have been actually preserved, and that even before Firdousi the history of Persia was written

by several Arab authors like Tabari, Masoudi, Yā'qoobi, Dinawari and others. But then the history of a nation written by foreigners, even with the best will in the world, is never able to stir up the patriotism of the natives of that country. If for instance, the Mahrattas wish to compose a national epic of their own province, they would not like to base it on Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, but rather on their history as written by Mr. M. G. Ranade, or perhaps on the original "bakhars" of their province as preserved by the late R. B. Parasnis and Mr. C. A. Kincaid. Firdousi too was a staunch patriot, and instead of basing his epic on Arab historians, he was on the lookout for a work on Iranian traditions written by Iranians themselves—a work which may well be expected to rouse the sense of nationalism of the Persians. God in His infinite mercy had rescued such a work from the fanatic fury of the conquerors, though its preservation in the midst of incalculable difficulties may be considered as little short of a miracle. This work was the "Khvatâinâmak," commonly known as the "Khudâi-nâmeh" of Dehqân Dânishwar.

In 1425 Baisanghar Khân, grandson of Tamerlane, edited the Shâhnâmeh, to which he appended a valuable introduction, in which he traces the history of the "Khudâi-nâmeh." The usual and familiar account is that King Naushirvan was the first to think of collecting the national traditions. The work was soon abandoned but resumed by our last unfortunate king Yazdejard Shehriyâr. For this task he appointed Dehqân Dânishwar, who with the help of other learned mobeds composed the "Khudâinâmeh" from the time of Kayumars to that of Khusru Parwiz. During the Arab conquest this invaluable work, which was all that was left to relate at length our national legends, fell in the hands of the conquering general Saâd Waqqâs who sent it to the Khalif Umar. The Khalif was pleased to order its translation into Arabic, but when the translator came to the name of Zarathushtra and the cult of fire-worship, the Khalif was annoyed and ordered that the translation should be immediately discontinued. The discarded volume fell into the hands of a common soldier who took it to Abyssinia whence it went over to India in the army of Mahomad Qâsim, the conqueror of Sind. In India it came into the possession of Yâ'qoob Laith Saffâri, who took it back to Irân, where he became the founder of the Saffâri dynasty. Before he could do anything with the work, the Saffârides were overthrown by the Sâmanides, who traced their origin to Behrâm Choubin. Bal'ami, the minister of the Sâmani King Abu Sâleh Mansur engaged a Zarathushtrian poet Daqiqi to compose

the *Shāhnāme*h, based on the *Khudāināme*h, but after writing about 2000 lines Daqiqi was murdered by his own slave. Then the *Sāmānides* were conquered by the *Ghaznavides*, and the *Khudāināme*h fell into the hands of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, and it was largely on the authority of that work that Firdousi based his *Shāhnāme*h.

According to a different version, given by M. Mohl, the *Khudāināme*h never left Persia at all, but Yā'qoob Laith Saffāri ordered his minister Abu Mansur bin Abd-ur-Razāq to get the *Khudāināme*h translated and to supplement it with a description of kings from Khusru Parwiz to Yazdejad Shehriyār. The minister accomplished this work through Sāud ibn Mansur al Ma'mari with the help of four Zarathushtrians—Samāh bin Khorāsāni, Yazdāndād Shāhpur, Māhui, Khurshid bin Behrām and Shādān bin Burzeen. This authentic work written in 882 A.D. and called the "prose *Shahnameh*" by T. Nöldeke was also of considerable use to Firdousi. Some scholars do not consider this "prose *Shāhnāme*h" to be a translation of the *Khudāināme*h but quite an independent work of the four Zarathushtrians. Firdousi also consulted the "*Sair-ul-Muluk*" being a translation in Arabic of the *Khudāināme*h by Abdullāh ibn al-Moqaffa in the 8th century A.D.

There were again two small Pehlavi works, the "*Aiyādgār e Zarirān*" and "*Kārnāmak i Artakhshiri Pāpkān*," which proved to be of great use to Firdousi. The former, also known as the "*Shāhnāme*h of Gushtāsp" deals with the war between Arjasp king of Turan and Zarir, the brother of Gushtāsp, and Shams ul Ulamā Dr. J. J. Mōdi in his Gujarati edition of the work has pointed out that Firdousi has sometimes made use of the very words of the Pehlavi original. The "*Kārnāme*h" gives a brief record of the reign of the first Sāsānian king, Ardshir Bābkān, and it bears a close resemblance to the corresponding portion in Firdousi's epic, as seen from the edition of the "*Kārnāme*h" issued by the late lamented Shams ul Ulamā Dastur Dr. Kaiqobād Adarbād of Poona.

Finally, Firdousi sought the help of the Dehqāns, who constituted the ancient Persian nobility. The Parsees owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Dehqāns who stubbornly refused to be converted to Islām. Like the Saxon yeomen holding out to the last against William the Conqueror, these Persian zamindārs withstood the social and religious influence of the

Arabs. The minstrels of all nations have rendered great services during the evolution of ballad poetry into epic, and conspicuous among them is the work done by the Dehqāns. They remembered by heart and transmitted the national legends of Irān from father to son, and the very word Dehqān has now come to mean a bard or historian. Firdousi often acknowledges the debt he owes to the Dehqāns. For instance, he says :—

ز گفتار دهقان یکی داستان
بپیوندم از گفتار باستان

(Hearing the Dehqāns I have prepared this account from the traditions of the past). The Dehqāns were thoroughly conversant with famous episodes as those of Jamshid and Zohāk, Rustam and Sohrāb, Eminent among them was a Dehqān named Āzād Sarv, who :—

بسام نریمان کشیدش نژاد
بسی داشتی رزم رستم بیاد

("Who traced his origin to Sām son of Narimān and remembered many of the wars of Rustam"). It is indeed very strange that Nöldeke should conclude that there were no Dehqāns to help Firdousi, and that it was only conventional for a poet to say that he had heard a particular episode from a certain minstrel. On the other hand, Prof. Warner thinks that Firdousi himself was the son of a Dehqān, which seems equally remote from the truth. The above-mentioned authorities are the sources of the Shāhnāmeh, which will thus be found to have been based on Iranian legends as written or preserved orally by Iranians themselves. Thus it was that :—

بسی رنج بردم درین سال سی
عاجم زنده کردم بدین پارسی

("I laboured excessively for 30 years and revived the faith and nation of Persia.") It is too well-known to describe here what reward was reaped by Firdousi—hope's poor deluded pensioner—at the hands of a cruel destiny working through the will of a misguided monarch.

But then if Firdousi is not the first recorder of our national traditions, how is he entitled to the devoted affection of the

Parsees? The answer is abundantly clear. His first three sources, the *Khodâinâmeh*, the "prose *Shâhnâmeh*" of the four Zarathushtrians, and the "*Sairul-muluk*" have perished, probably as Nöldeke conjectures, because of the immense popularity and success of Firdousi's great epic. The "*Aiyâdgâr e Zarîrân*" and "*Kârnâmeh*" of Ardshir Bâbkân are still extant, but they are very slender in size, the former confined to a single episode, the latter being an abridged account of a reign. These two works are surely not fit to challenge the fame of the *Shâhnâmeh*, and unable to arouse to a considerable degree our love and devotion for our forsaken fatherland as a national epic only can do. Some of the Zarathushtrian scriptures like the *Farvardin Yasht*, the *Zamyâd Yasht* and the *Chitra-dât Nask* contain a list of names of our ancient kings and heroes, and the last two works have been rightly called "abridged *Shâhnâmehs*" by Shams-ul-Ulamâ Dastur Dr. Dârâb P. B. Sanjânâ : but great though these works may be from a purely religious point of view, can a bare list of names stand by the side of a mighty epic like the *Shâhnâmeh*? Lastly, it has to be admitted that there were Arab historians before Firdousi. It has already been discussed that foreign historians, however great and reliable they may be, are unable to fire the patriotism of a nation, which only the sons of the soil are able to accomplish. Again such is the weakness of human nature that foreign historians are generally apt to display their national and religious prejudices, writing with an eye to the subjects nearest their heart instead of doing justice to the matter they have taken in hand. The works of these Arabs possess considerable merit as history, but can no more be regarded as national monuments by the Parsees than historical epics composed by Muslims on Ranjit Singh or Shivâji would be by the Sikhs or the Mahrattas. Firdousi was therefore wise enough to turn from the Arab historians to absolutely indigenous material gathered by the Persians themselves. So then since all the works preceding the *Shâhnâmeh* have either been lost or weighed in the balance and found wanting, it happens that Firdousi's epic is the only great work that is left to tell the story of Irân's vanished greatness. It rests with the Parsees of the present day to honour themselves by honouring this noble poet who has laid them under an eternal debt of gratitude. The Parsees will always consider Firdousi as entitled to their spontaneous love and veneration, and they will endeavour, though in a different sense, to discharge their debt to the poet, which Sultan Mahmud with all his magnificence was not destined to fulfil.

In fact Firdousi has rendered the same services to our legends as Malory to the traditions regarding King Arthur. The enchanting subject of Arthur had already attracted the attention of the best minds of the West, for instance, Layamon, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gaimar, Wace, Robert de Borron, De Gast, Walter Map and others, but the last word on the subject was uttered, and the final permanent form to the Arthurian legends was shaped in 1469 by Sir Thomas Malory, who in his "Morte d'Arthur" worked upon English and French sources. The noblest marble monument in the world is not to be sought in marble mines but in the Taj Mahal; the best and the most permanent form of the Arthurian traditions is to be found not in the predecessors of Malory but in the "Morte d'Arthur"; and likewise, the greatest and noblest monument of Irânian traditions is not to be found anywhere among the sources of the Shâhnâmeh, but in the glorious Taj Mahal that Firdousi has raised over the fallen remains of a once formidable nation.

Not even superiority but in a sense even priority can be assigned to the Shâhnâmeh in spite of the works that precede it. Herodotus is called the father of history, though according to Prof. Gilbert Murray he was himself indebted to a prior historian Hecataeus of Miletus, who was the first to distinguish between myths and facts and attempt serious history. It was from him that Herodotus learnt the marshalling of facts, method and scheme in history. Herodotus was also indebted to Hellanicus of Lesbos, who was his senior in years and was called the father of logography and scientific chronology. But then Herodotus in his greatness of aim and method stood above the shoulders of these two men and is recognised as the father of history. Similarly in spite of the Arab historians who preceded Firdousi and whose weak point has been discussed in the preceding pages, one should feel little hesitation in calling the author of the Shâhnâmeh as the father of Irânian national traditions.

Firdousi is also an eminently veracious and honest historian. M. Mohl is never so keen on any other point as he is to prove that the Shâhnâmeh is a faithful representation of national traditions as they came into the poet's hands. When Firdousi's sources are garbled and defective, for instance, in the description of the Arab conquest or in the omission of the Assyrians, Medians, Achæmenians, Greeks and Parthians, Firdousi only versifies his sources without adding anything of his own. One lapse of his is however on record. No nation likes to describe

at length its own defeat. Finding the narrative of the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great defective, Firdousi lengthened it out with the help of the Arabian translation of a Greek work on the subject. It is not to be supposed however that the *Shâhnâmeh* is free from blunders, some of which almost provoke a smile; for instance, his confusion of Zarathushtra with Abraham; his statement that Alexander the Great (B. C. 356-323) was a Christian; his assertion that Kaikhusru possessed the *Zend-Avesta*, though Zarathushtra with whose name it is associated flourished later on in the time of Gushtâsp; and his testimony that Baghdâd existed in the times of Faridun while in fact it was built by the Khalifs. He has not always given an equal treatment to different reigns, and has woven more incidents round a favourite hero than have fallen to the lot of other less fortunate ones. But, according to M. Mohl, from these very mistakes it appears that if Firdousi had swerved from the version of Dehqân Dânishwar, he would have been lost in utter confusion.

It can be clearly seen that Firdousi has never trifled with history but has faithfully enshrined the materials that came into his hands in his undying verse. Whenever detailed history was not available, he is careful to mention his living sources, the Dehqâns. How eager Firdousi is for truth and exactness can be seen from his own words:—

گر از داستان یک سخن کم بَدی
روان مرا جای ماتم بَدی

("If one word be curtailed from my history, my soul would be plunged in lamentation"). Many proofs have been adduced by Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. J. J. Modi in his Gujarati work on the *Shâhnâmeh* of Firdousi to show that the poet's work is genuine and honest. Many of the names of our kings and heroes recorded in the *Shâhnâmeh* are the same as those found in the *Farwardin* and *Zamyâd Yashts*, in the *Chitradât Nask*, in the *Aiyâdgâr i Zarirân*, the *Kârnâmeh* of Ardshir Bâbkân, and in the Arab historians. Several of Firdousi's episodes, which would be too long to discuss here, bear a close resemblance to those which we find in Eastern and Western epics. Firdousi's episodes of Jamshid and Zohâk, Rustam and Sohrâb are also to be found in an Armenian writer, Moses of Chorene of the 5th century A.D., which shows that these episodes were known even to foreigners before the Arab conquest, and have not been coined

by our poet to tickle the tastes of his readers. If Firdousi had dared to sing just for the love of song and indulged in the creation of fanciful and false episodes, he would have been surely discovered by the Dehqâns, who were always jealous about the veracity of their traditions. Again Firdousi had many malicious detractors at court, who were ever ready to make a mountain of a molehill if at all they came across any lapse in our poet's version. If at all Firdousi had a mind to describe imaginary episodes, he must have been sorely tempted to do so with regard to the Parthian Kings about whom nothing but the bare names was mentioned in his sources. But Firdousi simply copies that list of names of the Parthian Kings and passes on, proving that the poet in him had not crushed the historian. Firdousi had commenced writing the Shâhnâmeh in his young age long before he went to Ghazni: now if he was concerned with the mere writing of fiction there was no reason for him to wait for the Khudâinâmeh and other authoritative sources which he got through the help of Sultan Mahmud. Lastly it may be asserted that Firdousi's status as a great historian has always been recognised by subsequent writers on Irânian history. Even Moulânâ Shibli believes that on the whole no detailed history of ancient Persia can be found to be more veracious than the Shâhnâmeh. These proofs will perhaps be considered sufficient to lay at rest the troublesome ghost of sceptical inquiry about the genuineness of Firdousi's work, haunting the camp of Irânian scholars.

The Shâhnâmeh may best be studied under five aspects: (1) mythological (2) heroic or epic proper (3) purely historic (4) romantic and (5) didactic. It is not strictly true to say that the Shâhnâmeh is pure history from cover to cover, because the portion from Kayumars to Faridun is really mythical. The Kings dealt with in that portion have often been resembled to Vedic deities: for instance, Jamshid or Yam-ksheta is compared to the Vedic Yama, or to Manu and Noah, whose names in the Shatpath-Brâhmaṇa and the Old Testament respectively are connected with the great Flood. Zohâk or Azidahâk is often compared to the Vedic Ahi or dragon; Faridun or Thretâon is compared to the Vedic Trita or Trita Âpatya, and Kershâsp to the Vedic Krishashva. MaxMuller's favourite theory was that ancient epic poetry is in its original elements a metamorphosis of mythology, and that too, nowhere more so than in the Shâhnâmeh. He also proves that the rape of Helen and siege of Troy are in all likelihood a representation of a solar myth. It may be that the mythic demigods of the Zend Avesta, representing the struggle between light

and darkness, good and evil, came to be regarded in course of time as historic kings as depicted in the *Shâhnâmeh*. Be that as it may, it is clear that in the account of these early kings, Firdousi is not able to display his full powers, but appears to preen his wings for the eagle-flight that was to follow. According to Prof. Warner, real life and epic movement appear in the *Shâhnâmeh* only from the reign of Minucheher in whose times flourished the great Rustam.

From Minucheher to Gushtâsp begins the heroic or epic period of the *Shâhnâmeh*, and it is here that Firdousi's genius reaches its zenith. The period here taken up is partly historic and partly legendary, and reasons have been given in the preceding pages to show that the proper subject for an epic is semi-historical. Firdousi is seen at his very best in his descriptions of Sâm, Zâl, Rustam, Sohrâb, Gudarz, Giv, Bizan, Asfandiyâr, and all that brilliant galaxy of heroes that made the name of Irân ring throughout the civilized world at one time. The very greatness of the *Shâhnâmeh* depends on this heroic period, to which Firdousi devoted the best portion of his life and genius. But after the death of Rustam, Firdousi's pen is broken, the charm of the *Shâhnâmeh* is appreciably diminished; it seems as if "Othello's occupation's gone." This fall may have been caused by the poet's old age or his weariness or the death of his only son, but it was certainly due to the fact that after Rustam, Firdousi found no great subject equal to him, and after the age of Gushtâsp he came across no such heroic epoch upon which he could construct his edifice.

The third period under consideration is the purely historical one of the Sâsânians from 226 A.D., to the second quarter of the 7th century. No wonder if the poet appears to nod here, for this period is the weakest in the *Shâhnâmeh*, pure history being a clog on the aerial wheels of Firdousi's poetic chariot. It is here that the poem slips from the dignity of the historical epic to mere "epical history," and sinks to the level of the works of Layamon, Warner and Drayton. Yet even here when Firdousi lays hold of a truly heroic subject—a Behrâm Gur or a Naushirvân—he rises to the height of his mighty genius and shows us once again what mettle he is made of.

Firdousi also attracts the youthful reader by his charming romantic descriptions. The romance in the *Shâhnâmeh* is not so predominant as to convert it from a historic into a romantic epic. The age of the romantic epic was yet to dawn in Persian literature, where its chief masters are Nizâmi

Ganjawi, Amir Khusru Dehlavi, Hâtifi, and the prolific Abu Tâher Tarsusi. European critics are against the infusion of romance in epic poetry, though they admit that in every epic this element is more or less bound to enter. The Iliad has little of romance, the Odyssey has a good deal of it, while Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso" and Spenser's "Faerie Queene" are altogether romantic epics. As Prof. Ker observes, romance is the enemy and yet the inseparable companion of the epic. Firdousi has woven the most charming romance in describing the "haftkhân" or the seven adventures of Rustam as well as of Asfandiyâr, in the depiction of the exploits of Alexander the Great, and the wonder-working feats of Behrâm Gur. Firdousi may be forgiven if for the sake of his poetry he dwells more on the most glorious reigns, successful wars, romances and amours, rather than on administration and political affairs.

Firdousi is particularly fond of the moral or didactic element, which is the peculiar characteristic of all great Eastern works, epical or non-epical. Firdousi rarely misses an opportunity of pointing a moral to his readers, and after the description of a great reign or incident he is always eager to moralize over the omniscience of God, the irrevocable decrees of fate, and the vanity of human wishes. According to Mr. Johnson, no grand principle of self culture, Stoic or Christian, Aryan or Semitic, old or new, is wanting in the Shâhnâmeh. Firdousi is very fond of making his kings, like Ardshir Bâbkân and Naushirvân preach to their princes and nobles, these sermons being composed of the proverbial lore of the age. Even Behrâm Gur, noted as much for his miracles of archery and superhuman strength as for his grossly dissolute character, is sometimes inclined to indulge in moral homilies! This characteristic is found particularly in the Indian epics; for instance, when the dying Bhishma from his bed of arrows discourses to Yudhishtir the philosophy embodied in the "Shânti Parva," or when Shri Krishna preaches to Arjuna on the battlefield the divine message of the Bhagvad Gitâ, or when Râma instructs his younger brother Bharat in the science of government.

From a purely artistic point of view the critic would wish to know what the artist does with his materials, not where he gets them; and the chief merit in our poet is the art of presentation, the poetic fire which welds the heterogeneous materials into an artistic whole, the spark of genius which raises the Shâhnâmeh from the dry bones of history to a living, breathing immortal epic masterpiece. Nowhere among the extant sources of Firdousi, certainly not in the Arab historians, can

we ever hope to find our poet's splendid imagination, his fervid enthusiasm in his work as if discharging a sacred duty imposed by Providence, his gusto and zeal in descriptions of war, his glowing and vivid depictions of adventure, his tender and delicate pictures of love, his matchless powers of pathos, his wonderful grasp of human nature, his spontaneous prayers to God, his frequent moralizings on the rise and fall of man and nations, and above all his burning love for the fatherland which runs throughout the poem and unfailingly thrills the heart of every Persian reader. Moulânâ Shibli considers the *Shâhnâmeh* as an encyclopædia mirroring forth the civilization of Iran for centuries together—to be precise, for 3500 years. Firdousi's chief claim to our veneration is that he is not only our Homer but our Herodotus as well, amalgamating in himself the twofold offices of a national bard and a national historian. The *Shâhnâmeh* deals not with the fortunes of isolated individuals or families or dynasties, but with the rise and fall of a mighty nation. It is not a mere collection of traditions like the *Râsmâlâ* of Mr. Forbes. It is not so dreadfully precise as to become an unpoetic chronicle; neither is it so completely imaginative and romantic as not to be a tolerably reliable history. Never in the world's literature has such a glorious poetic shrine been raised over the legends of an illustrious nation, which at present numbers its descendants by a few thousands among the teeming myriads of India, than has been erected in the supreme achievement of Firdousi.

A few words are necessary to determine the claims of the *Râmâyana* and *Mahâbhârat* as historical epics. On the whole these two works hold the palm of superiority over every other epic in the world. The *Râmâyana* and the *Mahâbhârat* are exceedingly comprehensive and encyclopædic, and the *Mahâbhârat* in particular has almost ceased to be an epic and is known as an "*Itihâsa*" or a rambling narrative of heroic traditions. Being written by numerous persons who have tried their hand on every conceivable subject, there is scarcely any common basis for comparison between the Western and Eastern epics. The *Râmâyana* and the *Mahâbhârat* are as much superior to the epic of Firdousi as the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is to the works of Shakespeare, and this comparison evidently does not detract a jot from the illustrious fame of the Persian or English poet.

Unfortunately Sanskrit literature is woefully deficient in history, and according to MaxMuller, the Hindoos have no historical sense at all. The cause of this deficiency may be

sought in Hindoo philosophy and religion, summed up by the great Shankarâchârya in his famous hemistich :—"God is reality, the world is an illusion, the soul is God, and nothing more." The Hindoos are accordingly inclined to believe that the world and all the occurrences taking place therein being mere illusion, any historical record of those happenings must be all the more illusory, and hence they have possibly refrained from paying due attention to history. Among the famous "Navratnas" or "Nine Gems" of King Vikram's court, not one is a historian. It does not seem proper to argue that the Hindoos had their historical works but that they were all destroyed by the Muslims. The Hindoos may have had a few chronicles but they could boast of no solid reliable work of history till the "Râjtarangini" of Kalhana Pandit of Kashmir, who composed the work several years after the Muslim conquest.

The Mahâbhârat is called an "Itihâsa," which word means heroic legends and old traditions. In fact the Indian epics are full of historic details, which are not however presented in any definite form. According to Dr. Ravindranath Tagore the Indian epics contain the eternal history of India ; but the history in the Indian epics lies like concealed pearls in the sea, and it is no easy task to fish out these pearls from the huge mass of miscellaneous material. In the Mahâbhârat, for instance, there is plenty of discursive information about the history and geography of various places that serve at one time or other as the theatres of action, for instance, Hastinâpur, Indraprastha, Pâncâl, Kâshi, Virâtnagar, Dwârîka, Ayodhyâ, Kishkindha, Lankâ and many more. The Pândavas in the Mahâbhârat as Râma and Lakshmana in the Râmâyana during their wanderings in their long exile got into touch with numerous provinces. So too in the "Ashvamedha Parva" of the Mahâbhârat, a horse is described as being let loose by Yudhishtir to run wheresoever he chooses, and war is to be declared by Arjuna who follows the horse against any King who dares to check the animal. In this way Arjuna has to pass through various kingdoms, and thus *indirectly* the reader of the Indian epics comes to know of the historical condition of these places. A "samudra-manthan" or churning of the ocean must be undertaken on a gigantic scale by scholars to extract the nectar of history from the bottomless depths of the Râmâyana, the Mahâbhârat and the Purânas, but we look forward to the Bhândârkar Oriental Institute of Poona to accomplish this work. After all, though the Râmâyana and the Mahâbhârat may be the greatest epics in the world, still as historical epics

they are not to be compared to the work of Firdousi. On the whole it may be concluded that in purity and delicacy of style, in vigour and vivacity of expression, in grandeur of subject and excellence of execution, in comprehensiveness of conception and sublimity of treatment, the Shâhnâmeh remains unrivalled as a historical epic in the literature of the world.

THE HUNS IN THE AVESTA LITERATURE.

BY PROF. FRANCIS ZAJTI.¹

On the occasion of having the honour to greet in our Academy Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, the illustrious savant of the Parsees of India, we thank him as a representative of the kindred people of the Hungarians visiting us in these dark days of our national mourning and like a new Magus, putting his treasure before the cradle of Hungary's Renaissance, as a sumptuous present of his nation: the consciousness of the identity of the early religion and early history of the Parsees with those of the ancient Hun-Hungarians.

Dr. Modi speaks to that old, stronger element of the Hungarians, in which this consciousness, the consciousness of the "Hun-Hungarian Identity" still survives. He is of this opinion, he thinks the Hungarians to be an offshoot of the Hunas thrown into Europe.

But we always have had this consciousness, from the time of our old chronicles which certainly reflected the spirit of the age, through George Pray in the XVIIIth century upto the serious historian of modern days. It is in a few decades of the last century that the consciousness of the Hun-Hungarian identity seemed to decline, but merely in the theory of some of our scholars, for on the other hand this old consciousness of the Hun-Hungarian identity at no time has been stronger than during the above period.

The fact that through want of monuments of the Hun language this Hun-Hungarian theory cannot be as firmly established as, for instance, the elaboration of the evidences of modern Finn-Ugrian linguistics, does not mean that the feeling of our racial intimate relationship with the Huns of the East could ever vanish from our ideas.

This is the reason that arguments made in a scientific garb, which would deprive the Hungarians of this most valuable treasure of theirs, have always been followed by indignation in the feelings of the Hungarian nation.

¹ This paper was read by the author at the public meeting held in honour of Dr. Jivanji J. Modi in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, on August 23, 1925.

At the end of last year an essay was published at Nagyvárad, written by Dr. John Karácsony, Member of the Academy, entitled: "Early History of the Hungarian nation upto 896." The principal assertions of this Essay are as follows: The Hungarian Nation was not of Asiatic origin; it was the tribes of the Onugors (an Ugrian people Turkish by race, formed by the union of ten tribes) who subjugated, nay enslaved, the Hungarian people and who gave the Hungarian the names of Ongur, Unger. Henceforward the history of the Onugors is the history of the Hungarians, for everywhere the Onugors went the Hungarians appeared as well, of course as servants or auxiliaries. These Onugors were those who communicated the Parthian-Sassanian words of civilisation to the Finnic-Hungarian people. After the weakening of the warlike Onugor conquerors, the Finnic Hungarian race got possession of the power. The Hungarians never lived in Asia, did not belong to the Turkish race and have nothing to do with the Huns. They might have been subjects of the Huns, but had neither linguistic, nor blood-relationship with them whatsoever. The Hungarians were indirect subjects of the Avars only and tributary subjects of the Khazars.

In another essay, published at the same time, entitled "The Settlement of the Hungarian Nation from 896 to 997." Nagyvárad, 1925, Dr. Karácsony says: ".....The Hungarians taking possession of their present Country among the fragments of peoples whom they found in the new Country, first made friends of the remainder of the Gepidæ.....The Gepidæ once were speaking a common language with the Goths, thus they belonged to the Eastern Germans.....These Gepidæ were allied to Attila and fought loyally on his side till his death but they were not of his blood, they were not Huns.....The Hungarians left these dispersed Gepidæ in their woody and bushy land, and engaged them as helpers and chiefly as guides. In wartime, they employed them for cutting passages. As the Gepidæ designated this occupation by the German word "zicken" (to cut), the Hungarians called them Szikel, Székely.

These are Dr. Karácsonyi's final conclusions.

It is a fact that the Voguls, Ostiaks, Züriens, Cheremees and Chuvass have never been a state-forming, mounted, sword-bearing, highly intelligent people, which the better element of the Hungarian people were—and are even to-day. Dr. Karácsony is right in stating that these small peoples could not be but

slaves in a State like that of the early Hungarians, but we cannot agree with him in his opinion that these weak peoples were those who later constituted the ancient ruling element in the Hungarian race. Hun-like peoples lived for many centuries in the neighbourhood and on former territories of these small peoples. It was during this time that the Hunnic and Finic peoples got mixed. Later on, and on different occasions, other Hunnic peoples joined this early Hunnic element in the Ural Mountains.

Dr. Modi in his work on "The Huns in India" says that the Hungarians and Huns are kindred people, that Attila's Huns are a rougher branch of the Bactrian (latterly Indian) White Huns. These Huns on their turn were the brothers of the Yue-chi Hunnic people who, being driven from the boundary and territory of China, reached India in the 2nd century B.C. and founded an Empire that lasted for nearly seven centuries.

It was a warlike and fairly civilised ancient tribe of these kindred peoples, that, in flight before the Hiungnu in the 2nd century B. C., moved from the iris-covered fields of the Chinese province of Kansu to the regions of the Seven Rivers, near the Lake of Balkash, and further to the hilly country of the Ural, where they found those small uncivilised shamanistic Uralian peoples, and where the new Hunnic settler shortly began to rule.

Incidentally Dr. Karácsony also seems to touch upon this particular (page 24), viz. "At one time before Christ a group of Mongols flies there and gets mixed up with them." Of course in those days in the 2nd century B. C. the Yue-chi tribes, and later in the 1st century A.D., many Hiungnu (Hunnic) tribes, moved to the Ural regions.

Attila's rougher Hunnic elements kept kinship with the Hiungnu and the White Huns of India with those of the Yue-chi who, after the overthrow of the Hunnic Empire in India, joined, through the Khasar Empire, the primitive Hun-Hungarian element in the Ural region that was in a state of reorganisation on the ruins of Attila's European Empire.

Their way is the true way of the Hungarians. And the fact that this way was not that of a slave people, is proved by the common early history of the Hun-Hungarians.

If the Hun-Hungarian identity be not true, the Hungarians have nothing to do with the Zend Avesta. But if the consciousness of the Hun-Hungarian identity is a fact, then the Zend Avesta is the early history and early religious book of the Hungarians as descendants of the Huns. I do not claim that every part of the Hungarian nation belongs to this blood, but I am persuaded to assert that in feeling and in racial character there is still an isolated group of the Hungarians with whom this Hunnic relationship can be identified.

It is generally admitted that on the basis of ethnological researches, the Hungarian nation is made up of several more or less kindred peoples. No doubt it contains many Finnic, Vogul, Ostiak, Zürïen, Cheremees, and Chuvass elements, but on the other hand, one part of it certainly consists of a valiant Hunnic element.

Our renowned scholar, Prof. Valentine Homan, Director of the Hungarian National Museum, published, some weeks ago, a valuable work "On the Hungarian Hunnic Relation," in which he states, with the wide knowledge of a modern scholar, as follows: "As a final conclusion we can state that the idea of the Hun-Hungarian identity is not a fictive tradition formed on the territory of modern Hungary but it is an ancient tradition of the Hungarian people, based on historical consciousness, or, to be more precise, a tradition of the Bulgar (Hun), principally of Árpád's clan which at the time of the settlement of the Hungarians was practically bound up with the Finnic-Ugrian elements of the nation in an ethnical and linguistic unit. . . . The ancient tradition of the Hungarians or rather that of the Magyar (Hungarian) tribe and the clan of Árpád, was imbued with the historical consciousness of the Hun-Hungarian identity and with the tradition of a lineal descent of the dynasty of Árpád from Magyar and Attila and that of a close relationship to the Bulgarian Dula clan of Hunnic origin. . . . Our ancient Hunnic tradition is the proof of the existence of the authenticity of the Legend that preserved the tradition."

This is the fact on which we, too, are building and which we are resolved to develop. This is what we want to complete and clear up by the Hunnic references of the Avesta books. This is what our esteemed Savant guest has contributed to, by a new impulse to collect and publish further data after his previous investigations in the matter.

In connection with a series of lectures entitled "The Zend Avesta and the Hungarians," delivered in the spring of last year at the County Hall, I invited Dr. Modi to elaborate, if possible, Hunnic references in the Pahlavi books, which are so deeply interesting to the Hungarians, all the more since this field has not been examined as yet from this point of view. Dr. Modi executed this work personally and read a paper on it last Christmas at the 3rd Oriental Conference in Madras. One of his essays, which is connected with his work on the early history of the Huns published in 1916, deals with "Toramana and Mihirgula, Hunnic Kings of India." In another paper he treats of "The Huns who invaded India and ruled over it for many centuries and of the religion of the Huns."

This latter work, in addition to the Hunnic references of the Avesta and Pahlavi books is dealing with data of Persian writers on this subject. The work, further, treats of the Indian sources that we have at our disposal, chiefly in literature and inscriptions.*

On the whole, Dr. Modi's investigations on the race, early history and religion of the Huns help us to put into order the confused materials of the Hun question, in which we are so deeply interested

* * * *

Certain circles of Hungarian scientists, following in the steps of the German Avesta literature, have not

1. The word "Hunu" in the Avesta exclusively serves to designate the Hun people.

put the Hunnic references of the Avesta and Pahlavi books in the right light. Bartholomæ's large Avesta Dictionary entirely eliminates the word "Hunu" (Hun), as designating the name of a tribe by substituting for it the Sanscrit word "Sunu", the meaning of which is : Son, in a sense of devilish, profane creature, contrary to the word "Puthra" of the Avesta, which similarly signifies : Son, Child (including those not born yet) but designating an "Ahurai" pure being.

Ferdinand Justi is of the same opinion. In his large work entitled "Iranisches Namenbuch" (1895), while explaining the word "Hunu" (Hun), says (page 132) just like Bartholomæ.

* The Rajatarangini of Kalhana in original Sanscrit and with critical commentary was published by Aurolius Stein in 1892 at Bombay.

The true meaning of Hunustar, Hunsak is : creating a breed, and the word "Hunu" designates the notion the "Sons of the Godless", e. g. : "hunudahak" of the Pahlavi. Here again the word "Hunu" has a certain meaning which is not the name of a people.

Thus these two largest German sources, i.e., the great Avesta Dictionary and the large book of the Iranian Names, eliminate the word Hun as a name of a people from the Avesta and Pahlavi books. In the same manner, the representative of the new school, based on Bartholomæ's evidence, Frederic Wolf, whose work was revised by Bartholomæ, in his great Avesta translation, substitutes the word "Sunu" for "Hunu" translating this latter by the corresponding German word "Söhn," i.e. : Son for instance : in Yašt V, 54 : "Give me the grace thou the Immaculate Aredvi-Sura, that in the Xsathro-suka Pass, on the top of the lofty Asa-Saint Kahna, I may defeat the valiant sons descended from Vasaka to annihilate the Turanic Provinces." And again in the Yašt V, 57 : "It was she, Ardevi Shura to whom the sons descending from Vaesaka made sacrifices at the Xsathro-Suka Pass, on the very top of Asa Saint Kanha...."

Yast, 5.54: Diesen Erfolg schenke mir o gute gewaltigete, o gewaltige makellose Aredvi: Das ich Sieger werde über die tapferen von Vaesaka abstammenden Söhne bei dem Pass, Xsathro-suka, dem höchstgelegenen in dem hochragenden asaheiligen Kanha; das ich die türkischen Lander entzwei schlage.

57: Ihr opferten die tapferen von Vaesaka abstammenden Söhne bei dem Pass Xsathro-suka, dem höchstgelegenen in dem hochragenden asaheiligen Kanha.

(Avesta von Fritz Wolff, Strassburg, Verl. Karl J. Trübner 1910.)

It may be that this way of interpretation is not made with a set purpose, but it is evidently erroneous, when famous English, French and Indian scholars, with Dr. Modi among them, expressly and exclusively read and interpret the word "Hunu" of the Avesta as the name of the Huns.

One of the most serious Avestic scholars, Dr. Wilhelm Geiger, in his work entitled "Ostiranische Kultur" says in connection

with the mounted Huns, living (according to Geiger) in Vaesaka at the Khchatro-Sauka defile: "In any case it is obvious and very simple so to translate this passage that the word "Hunu" should signify the name of a people.

".... This way of translating the word, however, met with opposition, inasmuch as the word "Hunu" was kept for an equivalent of the Iranian and Indian word "Sunu" and accordingly translated in the meaning of *Sohn*, i.e., Son. I must confess that I am not satisfied with this interpretation of the word.

"....If on the other hand, our Hunu=Hun interpretation be true, this passage has an important meaning worthy of particular attention. A mounted people is mentioned here, belonging to tribes of the Northern Desert, and we even get acquainted with its place of residence in the region of Sir-Darja, where it would be perhaps easy to imagine the existence of a Tartar tribeUnder the circumstances one is inclined to compare the Hunus of the Avesta with the later Huns."

"....In this case there would be perhaps no need of earlier evidences to prove the actual existence of this people (early Hunnic people) that had such an important influence on the course of universal history.

"....Of course the resemblance of the names is a very attractive though deceptive motive, and there is no denying the fact that grave historical motives impede this interpretation. The Huns belong to a much later period than the epoch of the compositions of the Avesta, that places the era of the Hunnic wars back in the heroic times of the Avestic people. The fact that the Hunu people is designated as Turanian, shows the necessity of regarding the denomination Tura as collective. The mounted Tusa offered sacrifice to Ardvi sura Anahita, he the warrior, on horse back, he begged for strength to his horses and for health to himself, for protection against his enemies, for victory over them and for their crushing defeat. And offered up fervent prayers for this grace saying: Oh good graceful Ardvi-Sura-Anahita, give me that I may defeat the mounted Huns in Vaesaka at the Khchatro-Sauka defile....Even the White Huns mentioned by Haug do not appear but in the last centuries of our chronology, when they push the inhabitants of the Northern Steppes to the South....We should only suppose, that the Huns as nomadising tribes had already in the earliest antiquity wandered about the steppes of Northern Asia and were feared long

ago through some incursions, before they became famous and notorious with Asian and European peoples in consequence of their irruptions and migrations on a larger scale.

"...In any case I insist on my conclusion that the word "Hunu" designates the name of a people, be it or not identical with the later Huns. By this fact no change is made as to the interpretation of the text.

"...We must preserve the possibility that some of the tribes, *e.g.*, the Hunu tribe belonged to an alien, perhaps to the Tartar, race. And it may be that beside the Iranians, an autochthon people, not related to Iranians was living in Iran. At the beginning they could have been very numerous, but they continually grew less and retired in the inaccessible mountains before the victorious Arians, and the vanquished dissolved in the mass of the Arian conquerors."*

We read in the work of the French scholar Harlez, translated in English and entitled "Introduction to the Avesta," Bombay, 1920, on page 230: "Veshaka, the seat of the Aurva Hunavas, worshippers of the Devas, situated near the Ksathroçaoka gorge (gorge which favours royalty) the most advanced of the lofty and holy Kanha."

I note an evidence of the Yesht XIX, 86, 99, to which Prof. Harlez also refers (page 229): "Vistaspa seized the law from the Hunus and propagated it with the help of arms according to which the Iranian king Vistaspa made the law of the Huns his own and endeavoured to have it observed by force of arms whilst an account of the Yasht XIII, says that Vistaspa carried the *holy law* amongst the Hunus and enshrined it on a throne (100) and that he propagated it by arms, probably after having fought a defensive war (99. cf. Yt XIX, 86).

Finally, I refer to the English Avestic Dictionary of Mr. Sheriarji Dadabhoy Bharucha, Fellow of the University of Bombay, published in Bombay in 1910, thus being 15 years later than Bartholomæ's Dictionary. On page

* [For another translation of these passages of Dr. Geiger, vide Shams-ul-ulama Dastur Dorabji Peshotan Sanjana's "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians" Vol. I. pp. 36-37.—EDITOR.]

186 and 254 of this Dictionary we read in connection with the meaning and explanation of the word "Hunu", that "Hunu" is the name of a tribe, that "Hunu" is the name of a people. Thus, the most modern Avestic dictionary, compiled by the greatest Indian scholar of the Avesta, does not give this word the meaning of "godless creature or son" but with reference to the people and tribe of the Turanian Huns, fixes it as the name of a people. This state of things is absolutely beyond a doubt. Dr. Modi is of the same opinion, otherwise he could not have written works on the Huns of the Turanian Kingdom in Zarathustara's era.

And what is the result of this examination of the Hunnic people's name by the above scholars? It is this: The Hunnic people who in the time of Zarathustra, at about 1000 B. C. fought as a closely related people with King Vistaspa's Iranian people could be regarded as an Arian people.

This we can see from the data given by W. Geiger who says on page 200 in the work referred to above: "To the people of the Avesta, a striking contrast is the huge number of nomadic tribes of Arian extraction. These are mentioned mostly under the names of Tura or Dānu and perhaps Sariamā or Sāni.... Different tribes are to be understood by the names of Driwika, Hyauna, Mardha, Dāha, etc."*

The same is the result from Bartholomæ's Avesta translation.

In Volume XIV of the Pahlavi Dinkard (consisting of 17 volumes), published by a learned member of the Bombay University, Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana in 1915, in Pahlavi, Gujarati, and English languages, Dastur Sanjana says in a note relating to the name Fryāna, that "The Fryānas were a border tribe, a clan of the Turanians. They appear to have been friendly to the Iranians, and were converted to Zarathusthriānism."

On the other hand, the compiler of the great Avesta Dictionary, Christian Bartholomæ, in his very serious, scientific translation "Die Gathas des Avesta" (1905) gives the following explanation in connection with the name Fryāna: "Fryāna is the Prince of

* [Vide Dastur Dorabji's Translation, *op. cit.* p. 48.—EDITOR.]

Tura, who was the sovereign of the Tura nation belonging to the Iranian race but not included in Vistaspa's sphere of authority, who though not converted as yet, does not show ill-will towards the new doctrine, and the Prophet may hope that he can convert him." (*Die Gatha's des Avesta*, p. 84) What do we learn from this passage? That Fryana, the Prince of Tura and "Tura" itself are represented by Bartholomæ as being Iranians.

On the basis of the commentary of Dastur Darab* according to the gloss given to Vendidad XIII, 39 (Spiegel's 110) "Tura" means a certain brigand, whilst another gloss gives the word Turanian the meaning of brigand-like.

In this manner we can translate the word "Tura" by Turanian like the word, "Hunu," if we want to draw out the true meaning of the word, *i.e.*, the name of a race. With reference to the above note of Bartholomæ we suggest that Fryana's Turanian territory could not have been a land under the power of Vishtaspa, since the kingdom of Iran—according to Pahlavi data—was in the time of Zarathustra a tributary of the Turanian Huns. The same is true with regard to the kingdom of Turan. Definite information is given in the matter by the Avesta and Pahlavi books, according to which, though a brother people of the Iranians (*i.e.*, Huns settled in Iran) the Huns of the Turan were an entirely independent people with a huge, organised army, immense power, and, later on, with a separate religious conception,—and the kingdom of the Turanian Huns included the so-called "Black Huns of the Kingdom of Afrasiab" as well as the "people of the White Huns," who by no means could have been Arians.

We know from the Dinkard and other Pahlavi writings, that Arjaspa was the king of the Turanians,—the Turanian Huns. In the Dinkard (Dastur Darab's ed., Vol. XIV, p. 34, Book VII, Chap. III, 88-89) there is mentioned: "...Arjaspa, the cruel ruler of Khyaôna, as that one was the most powerful of the tyrants in that age...." and "...When (it was that) that worst kingdom of the cruel Khyaônian (Hun) Arjâspa, which was highly heard of (before), was cruelly disturbed..." On the other hand in the same passage (Vol. XIV, p. 34, Chap. III, 90.), with reference to the Huns the Dinkard thus speaks of the non-Iranian Hunnic race: "...Distress must be yours, you

* [The author seems to refer to Dastur Darab, the teacher of Anquetil Du Perron, *vide* Anquetil's *Zend Avesta* Tome I, partie II, p. 384, n. 1.]

who are Khyaônians (Huns) through (your) defeat after your engagement (in battle); henceforth it shall not be, that the victory of Irân comes over to the Khyaônians (Huns) from (amongst) the non-Iranians..."

In connection with the present matter, once more I refer to Professor Harlez's work, ("Intr. to the Avesta") where we read on page 230: "...The Turas belong to the lands of the Qyaonians and Varedhakas, (Yesht IX., 31, XVII., 71.), also the Çâik and Dâhik countries mentioned in Yesht XIII., 144,—which some scholars are inclined to identify with Tibet and the region of the Daoi, to the west of the Caspean sea... The country of the Qyaonians and the Varedhakas must have been in the Turanian regions of Turkestan or in the Caucasus... The Avesta mentions in several places (Yesht V., 54; 73; XIX., 41; XIII., 38) the Turanian Hunus and Dânus... These names applied later on to the hostile Turanian populations."*

In connection with the Hunnic King Arjaspa we read in the Dinkard (on page 485, Dastur Peshotan Sanjana's Volume VII) in a prophetic passage: "...Be it known that during the millennial period of Zarathusht the Mazdayasnian faith shall be severely shaken by rulers of the false faith. The Turki prince Arjasp and his followers is to give the first blow..." We also read in the Dinkard (Volume VII., page 464) in connection with the events therein described: "...O God! make me prevail over those Western rulers, (i.e., grant me the valour to defeat Toor and Selum, the kings of Turan and China)..."

In Vol. IX., (page 617) of the Dinkard (Ibid. by Peshotan Sanjana) dealing with Iran and Turan, we find: "The Kayânian Gushtâsp, King of Iran, and his innumerable army would obtain a victory over (the Turkish King) Arjâsp and his hosts, and over other (kings)... about his own self (i.e., of the holy Zarathosht's) being killed by the Turkish warrior Barâtarurîsh..."

The European official Avesta literature has been—for a long time—placing the time of the appearance of Zarathushtra in the epoch of Hystaspes, father of Darius, King of Persia (Recently J. Hertel in his work "Die Zeit Zoroaster"). Naturally, it was impossible to place the events in connection with Zarathushtra in the time of Hystaspes (518 B.C.). This false placing was the consequence of the prevailing point

3. The era of Zarathustra was not in 500 B.C., but at about 1000 B.C.

* For Harlez's original, *vide* his Zend-Avesta Introduction p. CXLIII.

of view according to which the king Vistaspa, Zarathushtra's contemporary and protector, was, at any price, to be identified with Hystaspes. This point of view failed before the criticism of recent serious investigations, and the time of Zarathustra is carried to circa 500 years earlier—which is quite right.

Mr. Govindâchârya Svâmin, an Indian Hindu scholar, says in his work entitled "Mazdaism in the Light of the Vishnuism": "...Darius Hystaspes (Vistâspa) was not the prehistoric Vistâspa, the contemporary of Zarathust... In B.C. 3000 stands the central figure of Krishna; in B.C. 1000 that of Zoroaster; in B.C. 500 Kurush, and Buddha, the ethical avatara of Krishna; five centuries later Christ, spiritually the great-great-grandson, so to say, of Krishna..." Mr. Sanjana, a Parsee scholar, and also Tiele, a Dutch historian of religions, place the time of Zarathustra at about 1000 B.C.

Even Bartholomæ (*Die Gathas des Avesta*, p. 131), contrary to the prevailing official opinion, thinks the identification of king Vistaspa, the contemporary of Zarathushtra, with Darius I. king of Persia, to be inopportune. Prof. Harlez places the time of Zarathushtra at about 800 B.C. whilst Prof. Mills at a time about 800-900 B.C. The renowned historian Duncker in his "Ancient History" places the time of Zarathushtra in about 1000 B.C.

German literature has placed the Scythians in the group of Arian peoples on the strength of a few language monuments deciphered through an Arian language, the Avestan Zend. W. Geiger, in his work entitled "Ostiranische Kultur" mentioned above on several occasions because of its importance, says (p. 202), in connection with Iranian-sounding geographical and ethnical names used by Huns and Scythians that:.. the Varedhakas and Hyaunas (Huns), who were defeated by Vistaspa, are hostile to the people of Avesta. Passages of the Avestan Yt. (IX., 30-31; XVII., 50-51) speak of the lands of the Huns. The Hyaunas are the Chionitas (Huns), who include the people of Ardsat-Aspa, as Tantharavat, i.e., the "Dark", and Peshana, i.e., the "Fighter." These names sound Iranian, and if their bearers applied them to themselves, and if they were not given them by the people of the Avesta, the Arian origin of the Hyaunas (Huns) would become indubitable.

Apart from the fact, that some of the Scythian words cannot be explained but from the Ural-Altaian languages—it is well

known that only the ritual language of the magi of the Scythians and of the Huns included among the Scythians, was the so-called Medic Bactrian idiom, the then language of the Avesta, which could be placed with the Arian family of languages.

But I continue citing from the work of Geiger: "... The plain around the Caspian and Aral Lakes, as well as the Northern shores of the Black Sea were at the very beginning of the pre-historic age inhabited by numerous nomadic tribes, that the Greeks generally united under the name of Scythians. They could be thought of first as autochtones of Iran..." The Scythians only represented those tribes that roamed about the prairies as nomads, whilst Persians, Medes, Bactrians, Arians, Sogdians were those who settled down at fixed abodes and cultivated the soil. I do not want to call in question the Iranian or Arian origin of a considerable part of the Scythians, but would note that the use of the name of the Scythians looks somewhat undecided with the Greek authors. I think the word's meaning is economic rather, uniting all the nomadising tribes of the lowlands of Eastern Europe and Central Asia without regard for the differences in blood and language. In brief, the definition of Scythians corresponds with the vague expression of "Turanians" or "Turkestan Khirghises" popular with modern authors. Even if it is proved that a part of the Scythians belonged to the Arian race speaking an Arian language, it is by no means established that among the Scythians there could not have been alien tribes, perhaps Tartar tribes, which were considered as belonging to them.* "I am glad to note," continues Geiger (p. 181 note) — "that my opinion here corresponds with that of Maspero, who expressly declares (*Geschichte der Morgenländischen Völker in Alterthum*, p. 129) that the Scythians were the most ancient race of humanity and at best partly belonged to the branch of the Turanians who have been living from Finland's swamps to the Amur in Northern Europe and Asia."

Even our excellent scholar, Géza Nagy, in his academic inaugural address, written "On the nationality of the Scythians,"

gives a plain account of the fact that "the Scythians were neither Iranians nor other Arians but Ural-Altaians." It is very important to state, that in the time of Zarathushtra (in about 1000 B.C.) the word Iranian did not necessarily mean Arian and by no means Indian, or Persian.

5. Scythians, Huns may have been, according to their place of settlement, "Iranians" but were not infallibly Arians.

* [*Vide Dastur Darab Peshotan's translation "Civilization of the Ancient Iranians," Vol. I, pp. 16-17. Editor.*]

In the Farvardin Yast we find a very interesting passage, enumerating the most important peoples of Iran, viz.: "We remember laudably the Spirits of those pious men and pious women from the Arian parts, Turanian part, from Sâirima, Sâini and Daha.."

In Iran, especially in Bactria, there was a scarce Arian population, a relic of the Arian migration and settled on a very early Turanian basis, among whom settled later those Turanian peoples of agricultural Schytho-Hunnic race, who then constituted the principal leading element of the Kingdom of Bactria.

This is the opinion sustained by the renowned Avesta scholar Friedrich Spiegel in his three volume-work entitled "Eranische Altertumskunde."

According to Geiger: "...Instead of contradicting it, the Avesta remarkably proves the fact that the existence of an ancient race, alien to the Iranian race, may be supposed in Iran. In the Zoroastrian documents we find races of decidedly non-Arian extraction mentioned. These non-Arian races were defeated by the Arians, in desperate race wars during the earliest period of immigration."

"Now, if among the Tartar-Mongolic peoples, that are presently in possession of Central Asia, Arian tribes were found, it seems probable that on the occasion of their first immigration, the Arians met some autochthon Tartar population, which at the time of the Mongolic invasion has naturally been absorbed by the ruling classes. The only possibility is that, beside the Arian population of Iran, there was a non-Arian and still earlier population in Iran. Now I have come to the principal feature of my proof: What is the point of view of the Avesta in this question? Later on I shall give some indirect proofs, which seem to prove the existence of a non-Arian autochthon race in Iran. But in the Avesta we have direct proofs, for the non-Arians are several times mentioned in it and we cannot help admitting this fact, being, as it were forced by it to reckon with the existence of non-Arian tribes."

Prof. Harlez writes in his work mentioned before (on page 259): "History tells us that in reality the ferocious horsemen of Turân many a time ravaged and on some occasions even reduced to subjection Iranian territories. Herodotus informs us that the Scythians invaded and ruled over Medea during a number of years. (Herod. I. 105.) Moreover, the Turanian races settled down in the Arian lands and often caused internal fights and devastating wars." This people of Hunnic origin,

which settled in Bactria among the early Iranian Arian population, were a brother-people of the so-called "Black Huns of the Kingdom of Afrasiab" and of the "White Huns", the tribe of Zarathushtra.

The tribe opposed to the Iranians was that of the Huns. According to Avesta, Pahlavi and Persian data, this people were a brother-people of the Iranian Bactrian tribes. The Turanian Hunnic people by no means could have been a brother-tribe of the Iranian Arians. It is obvious that here an ancient Hunnic people is spoken of, that settled in Iran. As far as their place of settlement is concerned, they may be considered as Iranians but not necessarily Arians.

Dr. Modi says in his work entitled "The Early History of the Huns" that, according to old Iranian traditions, the founder of both the Iranian and Turanian Kingdoms were brothers... "Turan was the cradle of the early Hunnic stock and the Turanians were the ancestors of the ancient Huns, who after dissolution of the Turanian Kingdom dispersed in the Mountains of China and near the Altai. The Avesta as well as the Pahlavi writings and books speak of this."

Really the mighty Bactrian Huns living in Iranian territory were those who, weakened by the brother-war with the Turanian Huns in the times before Zarathushtra and later on by the 32 years' religious war in the time of Zarathushtra—500 years later when the Persian king Cyrus conquered Bactria—gradually were absorbed by the great Iran, but this absorption was not a racial one, being the consequence of the fact only that Zarathustra's religion became the state religion of Persia and that Bactria was the chief centre of Zoroastrianism. And as subsequently Zoroastrianism became the chief characteristic of the Arian Persians, the numerous Hunnic people of Bactria were henceforth considered, just because of their religions, as the backbone of the Arians.

Prof. Harlez says in connection with this subject (Introduction to the Avesta, pages 12-13.): "...We are,

6. The early form of the Avesta religion was the religion of the Turanian Huns, spread in Persia and Media, after the reform of Zarathustra, by Magi priests.

therefore, justified in concluding that Avestan Mazdaism was neither the religion of the Persian people, nor of its rulers.... The religion of the Magi was not the religion which appealed to Persian hearts, and it was soon forgotten by the greater part of the nation."

" (Page 347). . (The conclusions.) The Avesta is the work of the Magi, who introduced it into Persia. The language of the Avesta,—as the Religion—is Medic, the dialect of Ragha. The dialect of the Gathas might be that of Merv or of Eastern Atropatena. The Avestan religion is the product of a combination of the myths and beliefs of the Aryan race with Turanian dualism and Judaic monotheism, a combination produced under this triple influence. . The origin of Zoroastrianism or of this doctrine thus formed can scarcely be ascribed to a period earlier than the 8th cent. B. C. The Avestan religion was first introduced into Bactria, and later into Persia. . "

On the other hand, the many Indian elements of the later Avesta literature are explained by the 700 years Indian rule of the Huns (Sakas, Yue-chis and White Huns), who were favorable to Buddhism and Hinduism as well, but on the other hand eagerly propagated their Mazdayasnian-Zarathushtrian religion, especially after the settlements in India of the Zoroastrian Brahmins.

Thus a certain religious syncretism was formed in the powerful Empire of the Indo-Scythians and White-Huns, which contained Northern India, Punjab, Kashmir, Bactria and other former Iranian territories.

At the site of ancient Sarmisegetusa, in Transylvania (Hungary), once there was a Mithraeum dedicated to some Zoroastrian—like religion, the finds of which and account of its ruins have been treated of by Paul Királyi in one of the larger publications of the Hungarian Academy with a preface by Count Gèza Kuun. In this work, Paul Királyi says: "The powerful sacerdotal class of the peoples of Turanian extraction, the Magi, became, after achievement of the conquest, a complementary part of the ruling tribe, got hold of the power over the souls, lead the Arians to false doctrines, introduced and developed the worship of fire and stars and pretended to be the privileged mediators between God and men, so that even the most insignificant religious ceremony could not be performed without them, and prayers could reach the Creator of the Universe through their mediation only. These Magi made themselves masters of the whole people, from the highest to the lowest classes."

It is not in Turanian Bactria and Iran only where they propagated and introduced this religion of early Turanian dualistic origin, saturated by Zarathushtra with monotheism (due

to revelation), but later on, in the 1st century B.C. and in the 5th century A.D., when more and more recent Hunnic peoples took possession of Bactria, the ancestral seat of the Avesta religion, as well as of a considerable part of India, these Magi, —being the official sacerdotal class of the Zoroastrian Mazdayaznan religion of the Yue-chis and White Huns,—introduced it in India.

The above-named Hindu scholar Gowindacharya Shwami in his work referred to above says (pp. 149-151): "...Jarasasta (Zarathustra) was the originator of the Mâga Brâhmanas.... I think they came (first) with Kanishka (circa 78 A.D.), who appears to have been the first Indo-scythian (Yue-chi) prince, that had espoused the Avestic faith..Magas, in all probability, first came into India with Kanishka as his Avestic priests.

Now, the question remains to be answered: what were the relations which the so-called Indo-scythian,

7. The early people of Turan, the Saka-Scythians, the Yue-chi Huns, the White Huns, Attila's Huns are the same people—a frame of the early Hungarian element.

Yue-chi people of the above-mentioned King Kaniska, had with the White Huns who settled among them, and these with Attila's Huns? The importance of this question consists in the fact that it was a tribe of these Yue-chi peoples that in the 2nd century B.C. emigrated from their original home to the Ural regions and mingled there with Vogul, Ostiak peoples and whom the Hiungnu

Huns joined at the commencement of the 2nd century A. D. and from whom separated later the army of Balamber's Huns, leaving, as it were in the Uralian melting-pot the nucleus of the people that gradually ripened into the Hungarian race.

When identifying the early Hungarian element with the Huns we must have consideration for the different strata bringing different civilizations and linguistic influences in different times but always strengthening the Hungarian people of Hunnic origin that was ripening in the Uralian furnace by the force and racial powers of the same people.

We could cite here other sufficient means of evidence. But I should refer to Sir Aurel Stein only, who has sufficiently elucidated this question in his Academic inaugural address (Besides, he has got his doctor's degree by Avesta studies, and studied in Bombay as well). The title of his Academic inaugural address is: "The history of the White Huns and kindred tribes in India." Aurel Stein says therein that the

kindred tribes of the White Huns were the Yue-chis on the one hand and Attila's Huns on the other.

He says in the work cited above: "On his gold medals the Yue-chi king is represented in a garment characteristic of his people. Generally he is represented standing in an open coat reaching to the knees, which reminds of the fur-lined coat of central Asiatic peoples, with high fur-cap and topboots. We must be grateful to those unknown engravers, who through this realistic representation left no doubt about the fact that here we have to do with a Scythian conqueror coming from the North. In annals of three Chinese Dynasties we find the statement, continues Aurel Stein, that the Ye-tha or Ephtalites, *viz.*, the White Huns, belonged to the great race of Yue-chi. It follows that the latter as well as the ruling Kusan tribe belonged to Turkish-Tartar peoples. The correctness of this opinion gives a most adequate explanation of the conditions we find in those bordering regions of India after the disappearance of the White Huns. The great Yue-chi people itself was of Turkish-Tartar origin. On the other hand, such origin makes it probable that the rapid and complete disappearance of the White Huns in that country is due to their dissolution in the kindred Yue-chi tribe. The Ephtalites (White Huns) were in close relation with those European Huns who enter the history of the world contemporaneously. The European Huns belonged to the widespread Turkish-Tartar branch of the Turanian race. Thus, the hypothesis attributing the same origin to the White-Huns of India seems legitimate."

1. The word "Hunu" in the Avesta is exclusively the name of the "Hun" people, and by no means is the assertion of the German authors proved, according to which they translated this word in the meaning of the Sanskrit word "Sunu", which has its equivalent in the German word "Sohn," *i.e.*, a son.

2. Neither is the assertion of German authors proved that, according to the Avesta and Pahlavi books, the powerful Kingdom of Turan in about 1000 B. C. was constituted by an Arian race in Arian territory.

3. The assertion of German authors is erroneous when placing the era of Zarathustra and of the Turanian Huns—who played an important part at the same time and were of his

race—in 500 B. C. Parsee, Indian, English, and French authors place the Kingdom of Turan of Zarathushtra's time in about 1000 B.C.

4. The assertion is erroneous which tries to explain the race of the Scythians on the basis of the few remaining Scythian words explicable from the language of the Avesta, as the language of the Avesta, which is a sister tongue of the Sanscrit, was the clerical language only of the Turanian priests, just as the Latin language once was our public and social language in Hungary. According to Indian, English and French authors and even according to the German, W. Geiger, the bulk of the Scythians belonged to the Turanian race, of which the powerful Hunnic people formed the most valuable element.

5. Thus when we say that Feridun's sons, the founders of Turan and Iran, were brothers, it is not the Iranian Arians we are treating of, but of the Hunnic Daha, etc. Turanian peoples settled among Iranian Arians, who could have been Iranians as far as their country is concerned, but by no means were Arians. This is proved by the most serious Avesta literature.

6. According to Avesta scholars and especially in the words of Prof. Harlez : "Avestan Mazdaism was neither the religion of the Persian people, nor of its rulers....the religion of the Magi was not the religion which appealed to Persian hearts, and it was soon forgotten by the greater part of the nation."

7. It was the early religion of the Huns that was reformed by Zarathushtra who belonged to them. The early Huns settled in Iran, and later on the Yue-chi and White-Huns ruling in Bactria and India accepted this reform and developed it giving it a form, the spirit of which has since nourished the most powerful philosophic and religious movements.

ANCIENT HINDU THOUGHT.

(With special reference to the fire cult).

By PROF. ERNEST P. HORRWITZ OF HUNTER COLLEGE, AMERICA.*

The fire-reverence of the Parsis recurs among all Indo-European nations. Agni, the fire-god of the Vedic Hindus, is etymologically akin to 'ignis' which means 'fire' in Latin. The word is also found among the people of Northern England where the fireside is known as ingleside or inglenook. The Germanic conquerors of Celtic Britain invaded Albion in the 5th century; their two upper castes were the swordsmen or saxmen (Saxons) and the ingle-priests (English). The Anglo-Saxon lords spiritual and temporal consisted of an English clergy and a Saxon nobility. Ingham (ingle-home) in England and Ingolstadt (ingle-city) in Bavaria were old fire cities just as Aderbai-zan in Persia, *Ader* being a corruption of *atash* or *atar*, which denotes 'fire' in Iranian speech. The Sanskrit equivalent was *athar*, the Vedic fire-priests being known as atharvans, and their scripture as the Atharva Veda. Greek fire-devotees, too, endeavoured to keep thoughts, words and deeds from all impurity in sight of Zeus, the god of light, whose purest creation was believed to be the heavenly flame manifest in sunshine, lightning-flash and in the sacred fire that illumines all pure hearts.

Our very word 'fire,' Greek *pyr*, is connected with 'pure' and signifies the pure element, the flame. Earth, water and air are heavier, coarser and more material than the ethereal fire; Greek *ether* and Sanskrit *athar* are cognate words. The vestal virgins were keepers of the sacred flame in Roman fire temples.

Of Latin origin are the words *mutable* (changeable), *mutual* (exchanged, that is, reciprocal), *move* (change, turn) and *moment* (turning-point), all derived from the Latin verb *me-are* (to go to and for the sake of barter; to trade). The early Indo-Iranians commended their trade transactions to Mitra (the Zend spelling is Mithra) who from a spirit of trade developed into the sungod. As the sun shines both on the righteous and iniquitous, so Mitra, protector of the sanctity of commercial

* The above is an abstract from a lecture on "The Main Currents of Ancient Indian Thought", given under the auspices of this Institute by Prof. Ernest P. Horowitz of the Hunter College and City of New York College, America, at the Institute premises, on Thursday, the 21st July 1927.

agreements, dwells equally among honest and crooked dealers, favouring the one, and foiling the other.

In the Rig Veda, the oldest document of Sanskrit literature, numerous hymns are dedicated to the deities of light, to Agni (fire), Savitar (Sun) and *Ushas*, the rosy-figured dawn.

At the end of the Vedic Age, a whole pantheon of 'gods of light', and a powerful hierarchy directing a rigorous ceremonial devoted to these various gods, had arisen. A school of thinkers arose who argued that all these fancied deities are merely abstractions and personifications of physical elements of nature, but that a permanent law, unseen, yet infallible, guides the ever-changing phenomena which all have a beginning and all must come to an end. This divine unity behind the mundane multiplicity, the immortal hidden in the mortal was called 'universal soul' or *atma*. The *atma*-philosophy is deposited in the Upanishad-dialogues which sparkle with poetic fire and spiritual illumination. One Upanishad passage runs thus: 'A wife should love her husband, not merely because he is her husband, but because she loves *atma* in her husband.'

The Upanishads are the sources of Sankhya and Vedanta; in the first place, both philosophies were worked out by Buddhist divines. Sankhya is psycho-analysis, searching experimentally into the complex process of mental phenomena, in order to attain *self-realisation* (*yoga*). Sankhya-Yoga became the basis of Buddhist psychology and ethics, just as Platonism became the spiritual foundation of Christianity. Vedanta is 'systematised Upanishads'; Sankara, a Madrasee brahmin who was vigorously opposed to Buddhism elaborated in the 7th or 8th century the "system of Vedanta" which may well be compared to the 'Summa Theologiæ' by St. Thomas Aquinas, as far as irrefutable logic and fearless conclusions are concerned. His contemporaries nicknamed Sankara, crypto-Buddhist. Yoga was cultivated in Buddhist seminaries of the Mahayana type, and was improved upon in the brahmin schools. Vedanta, Sankhya and Yoga are now regarded as 3 orthodox systems of Hindu philosophy. Buddhism, like Christianity, was finally driven out of the land of its birth and became the light of Asia, just as Christianity has become the light of the western world. Even the pure-souled *magi*, the fire-reverencing and light-spreading Parsee elders, came to adore the Christ-child, and followed the risen star from Urumiah Lake to Bethlehem.

A DISSERTATION AS REGARDS SIR OLIVER LODGE'S 'SUBSTANCE OF FAITH.'*

BY THE LATE MR. MANECKSHAH N. DASTUR, M.A.

INTRODUCTION.

The following dissertation as regards Sir Oliver Lodge's "Substance of Faith" in its bearings on the principles of the Zoroastrian Religion as expressed in the Avestan writings, should prove interesting not only to students of the Avestan literature, but to readers in general too. Owing to the very imperfect character of the translations that have hitherto appeared of the Avestan writings, it has always seemed difficult to accurately define the position of the Avestan writings on any important subject in discussion. Nevertheless, as will appear from the following pages, this writer has, with due respect to the translations of other eminent scholars, endeavoured to give an original interpretation of those passages in the Avestan writings, that have to be requisitioned for in the performance of the following task. Many of these interpretations will appear new; but it is hoped, the arguments used in connection therewith will make the reader feel that although they may not be entirely correct, at least they come nearer to the truth of things than those interpretations that have been current upto now. It is, however, not only the passages that have been originally interpreted, but some important Avestan terms, too,—such as Fravashi, Manthra, Armaiti, Spenta Mainyu, Ashi, and others—are attempted to be interpreted in a better way. It has been found necessary to indulge in a little digression on the subject of Zarathushtra's position as a prophet, and on the subject of Revelation. These subjects however, being of special importance, when examining the position of the Zoroastrian religion side by side with the doctrines of Christianity, we have thought it proper to incorporate them in this work. The treatment of the subject of "Immanence" from the standpoint of the Avestan writings has seemed a difficult task; nevertheless, it is hoped,

* This paper formed the subject of a prize competition essay which was invited in 1910 by the Society for the Promotion of Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion (*Zarhoshti Din-ni Khol Karnāri Mandali*) as under: "A Dissertation as regards Sir Oliver Lodge's 'Substance of Faith' in its bearing on the Religion of Zarathushtra, as expressed in the Avestan Writings, with an examination of the merits or otherwise of them respectively." Late Mr. Maneckshah Navroji Dastur M.A. won the prize of Rs. 500, which was offered by the Late Mr. K. R. Cama.

interest will be afforded by the way in which we have handled this subject among others. We have seen a far greater part of the contents of Sir Oliver Lodge's "Substance of Faith" to be in harmony with the teachings of the religion of Zarathushtra, specially those relating to "Character and Will," "The Problem of Good and Evil," and "The Kingdom of Heaven." It should certainly be a great gain to the followers of the Zoroastrian religion to examine the doctrines thereof in the light of any work on religion allied with science, such as Sir Oliver Lodge's "Substance of Faith."

The following abbreviations are used in the following work :—

- Lodge .. for Sir Oliver Lodge.
 L. p. .. for Sir O. Lodge's Book Page.
 Y. .. for Yasna.
 Yt. .. for Yasht
 Vend. .. for Vendidad.
 Had N. .. for Hadokht Nusk Fragments.

I.

THE ASCENT OF MAN.

"*The earth*, we live on, is one of the heavenly bodies, with an infinitude of *being* contained in it, part of which being is animated with *life*, which life itself began when earthly particles began to coalesce under a vivifying influence, and which has an enormous range of application; but which can be divided in the categories of *conscious* and *unconscious*, the condition of the former category making its incipient appearance low down in the scale, until it comes to what is called self-consciousness in man. As regards the material vehicle of man, it is not impossible for it to have been derived from a *common ancestor*, excluding the spiritual part of man, when origin is unknown. This doctrine of the (physical) ascent of man is called the Evolution doctrine which presupposes a continual progress for mankind who have been evolved through low and savage tendencies, and who, therefore, still possess traces of *animal nature* in them. At present, the earth is dominated by man, but at one time, it was mastered by gigantic reptiles."—Lodge pp. 6-18).

Descending now to the subject proper of man and his ascent (of which the above-written part was a necessary preliminary digression), let us repeat that **𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌** is the word exclusively used for human life. Now the one great fact, that appeals to us, is that we can only find the word **𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌** used whenever the production of the presumably first human being is referred to, while for the production of the rest of beings, animate as well as inanimate, we find the word **𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌** used :

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌
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𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌
(Y. XIX. 8.) 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌

In this passage we see that while water, earth, trees and even animal creation have the word **𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌** applied to them, it is solely in connection with man that the word **𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌** is used. It will be seen from the context that the reference is to the first two legged human being (who is called **𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌**), as

“ Ahuma Vairya ” is said there to have been declared by Ahura Mazda before the existence of man on earth. The conclusion hence is that man is not ‘ created ’ like the rest of beings, but that he is ‘ born,’ that is, brought from one condition to another, that is, in the language of lodge, he is “ evolved.” The ordinary meaning of that of the production of an animate being from female being of the same species, does not, and cannot, hold here, since the very *first* human being cannot be said to have

“...مردمان گایا مارتان. ...
 ...مردمان گایا مارتان. ...
 ...مردمان گایا مارتان.”

(Far. Yt. 87.)

Here, it seems, the connection of Gaya Maretan is restricted to only one division of the human race, since there are other divisions of other names, enumerated in the same writing—as the Dâhi, the Sairima, the Säini, the Tuirya countries (or people of those countries). (Far. Yt. 143, 144). But if we stretch the implied meaning of the above-quoted sentence a little more, we can interpret it in a way by which Gaya Maretan is only spoken of as the ultimate individual in the line of ancestry of the Iranian division of the human race,—in which case there is nothing to prevent us describing Gaya Maretan as the ultimate ancestor of the other divisions also of the human race. This latter view seems to be corroborated by the phrase

“...مردمان گایا مارتان. ...
 ...مردمان گایا مارتان.”

(—“from Gaya Maretan upto the Victorious Saoshyant”). In this sentence, the supplicant, assuming the advent of the final renovator Saoshyant, praises the Fravashis of all holy men and women during the period intermediate between Gaya Maretan and Saoshyant. The author, regarding Saoshyant as the last of human beings, should certainly have in his mind the idea that Gaya Maretan was the first of them. We have made these statements solely from the point of view of the extant Avestan literature, as regards the truth or otherwise of which no definite opinion can be pronounced, until the sciences of biology and ethnology have advanced sufficiently to admit of a definite opinion being pronounced one way or the other. Suffice it to say that the conjecture of Lodge on this point somewhat tallies with what we gather from the extant Avesta writings.

II.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONSCIENCE.

"The Fall of Man is nothing but the development of Conscience at a certain stage of man's development, when he lost his animal innocency, and became conscious of a difference between right and wrong, when he entered on a long period of discipline and distress, at the end of which he will "regain paradise." Unconsciousness of sin is a condition inferior to the sinless condition attainable through struggle and victory. The possibility of backsliding is a necessary ingredient in the making of man, and proves the existence of a soul of goodness in things evil." (Lodge pp. 20-23.)

The fall of man, as the phrase is handed down to us through generations, seems at first sight to be a peculiar doctrine of Judaism and Christianity, if we restrict ourselves to the common interpretation of the phrase; but, in the light of the intelligent construction put upon it by Lodge, it expresses an idea which can never be said to have been monopolised, so to say, by the ancient or modern followers of one of the most important forms of Semitic Faith. If it is so, the question arises—what have our ancient Avestan writings got to say responding to the idea implied in the above phrase? Do they contain anything to the effect that there was a fall from a higher to a lower human condition? or, if we accept Lodge's interpretation, is there any thing to show that a passage from a non-human innocent condition to the human condition—if ever such idea prevailed at the time—was construed by our Avestan ancestors into a Fall. Search however we may, we shall not succeed in getting any the least reference to the subject involved in these two questions. If there ever was a Fall, it should have occurred (or originated) in the case of the very first human being. Now, setting aside the question whether Gaya Maretan was the really first human being or not, this much is certain that even if he is not the first, at least he represents the most primitive human being that is referred to in the Avesta writings. The one solitary statement to be found in the Avesta by way of description of his personality, is that "he was the first who listened to the thought and instructions of Ahura Mazda" (Far. Yt. 87). No trace, at all, of a passage from a higher to a lower human condition; nor any statement bearing on the beginning of his life, at a

Mazda"—which great gain could certainly never have been designated by our intensely moral ancestors, by the sentimental term 'Fall.'

Let us now turn to what Lodge has to say respecting the so called "Golden Age" (p. 22, first lines). In this phrase, Lodge understands nothing but a condition of unconsciousness of evil; it is because we have left that condition and are now "passing through a period of discipline and distress," that we are apt to speak of that former condition as the happiest one. He goes so far as to say that even the savages of ancient times were as perfectly unconscious of evil as animals are. In contrast to this, however, we can lay down the position of the Avesta regarding this point as follows:—In all periods since the birth of humanity, God has endowed human beings with the gift of a leader among them, who is far superior to the average humanity in his qualifications, and who teaches them the principles of life that involve a perception of the difference between good and evil. Hence a perfect unconsciousness of evil there could never have been among human beings, at any the most ancient period of time. Yima Vivanghan, as we know from Vend. II, was a leader of humanity at a particular time of history, and no student of Avesta could presume to say that the people in his time were unconscious of evil; still it was in his time that we read of establishment of a condition of things, which can justifiably be designated as "the golden age." Let us then say that the existence of a golden age is not necessarily incompatible with consciousness of evil. The position of this Chapter II. of Vendidad is certainly a unique one, regarding the point in our land. But still it is a document of history that we cannot impudently ignore.

Last of all, we have Lodge's statement regarding "the discerning of a soul of goodness in things evil," and "backsliding being a necessary ingredient in the making of man (L. p. 22, last para.). We come across a statement in the Avesta writings which shows that this idea had not escaped observation of our Avestan ancestors.

” (اور پھر) سب سے پہلے (اسے) سنا دیا۔ اور پھر اسے دیکھا۔
 اور پھر اسے چھوا۔ اور پھر اسے چمکا۔ اور پھر اسے چوسا۔
 اور پھر اسے چبایا۔ اور پھر اسے چھڑا۔ اور پھر اسے چھڑا۔ اور پھر اسے چھڑا۔“

(Y. XI. 15.).

III.

CHARACTER AND WILL.

"The most distinctive characteristic of man lies in his sense of responsibility, consequent upon his power to choose between good and evil,—the power of free will. In this position man is no longer entirely controlled by external impulses, but most of his actions are determined by his own will. A man, who is a creature of impulse, cannot be said to be exercising his free will; while that man alone, who is not at the mercy of external influences, can be really said to be a free man. A man, whose better nature prevails in the struggle, finds a sense of strength in himself; while to choose wrongly brings on suffering and remorse. Yet no man really wills to do evil, only that he misunderstands an evil thing to be good. Finally, a man's responsibility is proportionate to the amount of power and knowledge he possesses."—(Lodge pp. 24-30).

The subject treated in this chapter, is the one that is most emphasized in the religion of Zarathushtra as the life-essence of the faith of all people. Too much stress could never have been laid by our ancient ancestors on such an all-absorbing subject as that of man's will and character. Let us start on the investigation of it by calling attention to the Avestic terms, which represent the idea of 'Will.'

There are four or five terms in the Avesta.—

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 or 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀, 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀, 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀,

which, though at first sight they may seem to be identical in meaning, do nevertheless admit of a differentiation between them. The exact equivalent of the word 'Will,' as used by

Lodge, is found in 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 or 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀. On the other

hand, the word 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 coming from the same root as 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀

seems to represent the consequence of 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 or 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀, thereby containing the idea of choice, selection, or faith, in it.

but the way of using this free-will rightly or wrongly depends upon the amount of knowledge and ignorance that he has,—is further borne out by the statement in Y. 30, 3.

”سعد بن مسدد، مروی سے حسن بن علی، ۴۱۷ھ، واپس پہنچا۔ سعد بن مسدد، ۴۱۷ھ، مروی سے حسن بن علی، ۴۱۷ھ، واپس پہنچا۔“

“Men of knowledge were able to choose rightly between those two spirits (the good and the evil), but not the men of ignorance.”

Here we see that there is what is called a right choice and a wrong one ; the former said to be the outcome of the possession of knowledge, the latter due to ignorance. Exactly equivalent in meaning to this is the following statement, where, as is said, of the two spirits in a man the evil one has a tendency to choose bad actions, while the good spirit of the man chooses Asha :

"نَدَدَسْ . غَنَدِ دَوَسْ . وَابَل نَدَسْ . سَفَ . اِفَعَدَسْ .
مَهْدَن مَسْ - وَاغَدَرَجْ .

(Y. 30 5.) “.....”

“ Of those two Spirits (in a man), the evil one chose the doing of bad actions, (while) the most progress-making one (chose) Asha.”

Again, from Y. 31, 9, 10, on the choice between work and no-work, we are told that the residence of Spenta Armaiti (-the sense of Duty) in him enables a man to choose (𐬨𐬁𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀)

the former, viz., work, while as we conclude, the absence of that faculty leads a man to choose the latter :

[illegible]

سپندارم . سچسپندارم . واپسپندارم . واپسپندارم .

(Y. 31, 10.) “.....”

“Of those two (viz., the worker, and non-worker), Armaiti chose the good, industrious, worker, who perseveres in his work with good mind.” The language here is figurative. The choice made by Armaiti is equivalent to the choice made by a man who has Armaiti in him. Immediately following on this, we have a very strong evidence of how prominent a position the idea of free-will occupied in the Gathic times, as is seen in the following stanza. Ahura Mazda is represented as having

bestowed *سپندارم* (=the power of putting one's ideas in practice) for the specific purpose of giving him “freedom to put his ideas in practice, be they good or evil.”

“سپندارم . سپندارم . سپندارم . سپندارم .
سپندارم . سپندارم . سپندارم . سپندارم .
سپندارم . سپندارم . سپندارم . سپندارم .
سپندارم . سپندارم . سپندارم . سپندارم .
سپندارم . سپندارم . سپندارم . سپندارم .
(Yt. 31, 11.)

“Thou, O Mazda! hast made for us the entire animal creation, and prescribed for them their respective duties; Thou through Thy mind hast given to the material life of man the power to work, so that man may speak words and do actions *according to their choice and inclination*.”

Again, we are said—

“سپندارم . سپندارم . سپندارم . سپندارم .
(Y. 31. 12.) “سپندارم . سپندارم . سپندارم . سپندارم .

"Immediately does Armaiti question the two Spirits (of man) as regards their inclinations (or as to what things they are inclined to do.)"

Strict attention is to be paid to this last line, where, as we already said before, it is Armaiti which decides which motive a man should choose, and this motive, chosen by Armaiti, will always be a good one. Both spirits of the man (the good and the evil) have their respective tendencies (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀) and the decision rests in the hands of Armaiti. But the prevailing inclination is translated into action by *Khratu*, which term signifies the power of putting one's motives or thoughts in practice. One more side-light on the subject, we have in hand, is to be found in Y. 48, 4, where a good man's wish for anything (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀) is said to be consistent with his Will and Choice (or Faith), and this certainly proves the prominent importance attached to free-will by our ancestors :

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀

(Y. 48, 4.) "𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀"

"The desire of that good man (or the things desired by that good man) are in accordance with his will and faith (i.e., a good man, having a good or right will and faith, will always desire things that are in no way opposed to that good faith)."

By the way, we should remark that this quotation shows the difference in meaning between the three terms, 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀, 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀, and 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀, contained in it, as we pointed out in the beginning.

After all these instances, which fully testify to the recognition of free-will by our Avestan ancestors, we should not pass over that one line in the Gathas, which may possibly influence the mind of the reader against all that we said upto now on the subject of free-will. The line stands thus :

[illegible]

led to the coining of the particular term **والتجديد**.

which term is taken by us to mean the Female Yazata of that name : and this cannot be said to be wrong, since it is

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 in particular, and not 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀 in general,

that can be spoken of as something invariably good. Besides the above quotations representing man's responsibility for his actions, we have Y. 45, 7, where the soul of the holy man is represented as hoping for "Ameretat," while for an evil man is destined the lot of rigorous bad circumstances :

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀
𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀
(Y. 45, 7.)

The same, again, is the idea contained in Y. 47, 5, where everything that is best is said to be given to the good, while the evil person realises only what he deserves by his actions :

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀
𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀
𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀
𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀
(Y. 47, 5.)

"Through Thy Spenta Mainyu, O Ahura Mazda ! dost thou give whatever is best, unto the good man, while the evil man, who resides in the evil mind, obtains what he deserves on account of his actions." Of the same tenor are Y. 46- 11., Y. 49, 11., and many other passages, which all testify to the fact that every one is responsible for what he does, his actions bringing him recompense, good or evil, in proportion to the element of goodness or evil which they bear in them.

Bearing on the same subject of responsibility, we have the statement by Lodge that "the responsibility grows with power and knowledge, and is proportional thereto" (Op. 28, para 1st). The doctrine that responsibility increases with knowledge, is

man's freedom to choose between good and evil,—in such a faith as this, we cannot expect to come across any statement, such as the above made by Lodge, which seems at first sight to lessen the burden of man's responsibility. Hence it is that when the supplicant (Y. 1, 21) begs of God to be pardoned for having given cause of offence to Him in thought, word, or action, he speaks of this cause of offence as having been given wilfully

(𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀), (i.e., consciously), or unconsciously without being willing to do so (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀).

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀.
𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀.
𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀.

(Y. 1, 21.) “𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀.”

The inevitable conclusion hence is that according to the Avestan writings, evil can proceed not only unwillingly, but also through sheer will. We cannot dispense with the existence of man's own will, even if he does anything wrong; the only thing to be remembered in connection with it is that the will of that wrong-doer has not been dominated by Reason but, as Lodge says “mastered by passion.” Nevertheless, let us take into consideration the Avesta fragment of Vispa Humata, which contains these lines—

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀.
𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀.
𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀.
𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀.

“All good thoughts, all good words, all good deeds proceed from Baodha; all evil thoughts, all evil words, all evil deeds,

do not proceed from Baodha." Here everything good is spoken of as due to Baodha ; while all that is evil, to lack of Baodha. Since Baodha means understanding or consciousness (which two are practically the same, since a wider understanding leads to greater consciousness of one's self), we can explain the passage by saying that all evil proceeds from lack of understanding or of consciousness. This statement then is a complement to the former one of Y. 1, 21 ; that is, the position of the Avestan writings regarding Plato's statement, corroborated by Lodge, can be expressed by saying that although evil may often be done unwillingly, it very often proceeds from a man's own will when he lacks understanding or when he is not well-conscious of himself.

IV.

DUTY AND SERVICE.

"Man's freedom is identical with a course of conduct, in which he places himself at the service of God, which service manifests itself in developing his own higher self, assisting others in the same, knowing the laws of Nature, and applying these to the progress of humanity. The laws of Nature are an aspect of what is called the Will of God. To attempt to disobey these, or ignorance or neglect of them involves disaster. There must be a harmony throughout all the component parts of the Universe. This harmony, however, is a willing not a forced, harmony, in the case of mankind. The preservation of this harmony presupposes the fulfilment by us of the intention of the Higher Power, which fulfilment takes place by regarding ourselves as instruments and channels of the Divine action, and by contributing to the progress of conscious evolution. By persevering in this duty and service man has to become an efficient organ of the Divine purpose." (L. pp. 32-35.)

Lodge's teaching concerning the duty and service of man covers a wide area, but wider still is the conception of duty inculcated upon by our Avestan ancestors, if we take all the remnants of our ancient literature together. The first and most comprehensive thing involved in the idea of Duty is that of obedience to the will of God. This obedience manifests itself in a number of ways, of which the greatest is what we call

“Give that unto me, O Mazda Ahura!, which shall give joy unto Thee.”

In both these instances, as we see, it is only the propitiation of the Will of God, that Zarathushtra has as his object, while doing all actions on earth.

As regards the various aspect of Duty, set forth in the Avesta writings, let us see first how men are called upon to behave in connection with good and evil man. From Y. 34, we learn that a man is said to act according to the Will of God, if he brings an evil man under bad circumstances; at the same time, one who shows love towards, and behaves well with, a good man, of whatever class or position the good man may be, is said to be in the service of Asha and Vohu Mano, that is he is an agent who advances the principles connected with Asha and Vohu Mano:

“سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو .
سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو .
سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو .
سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو .
 (Y. 33. 2.)

“He who does evil to an evil man, by his thoughts, words, or deeds, is regarded as a good person, and such men as he are said to offer gifts according to the Will of God.”

“سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو .
سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو .
سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو .
سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو . سپنته سمنو .
 (Y. 33, 3.)

the conscious evolution and development of a higher life" (L. p. 34)—as is evidenced by the well known line

"سوداندك چاكداسم. سواداندك چاكداسم. سواداندك چاكداسم."

(Y. 43, 6.) "سوداندك چاكداسم."

"By whose actions the animal world *progresses* through Asha." It was a keen recognition of this aspect of duty that led those great men who are mentioned in Farvardin Yasht, to advance to a higher grade the course of life on earth, for which reason it is that we are called to praise their Fravashis. It was, again, a recognition of the same principle that led Zarathushtra's disciples to pray to God to enable them to promote and make progressive the life of humanity, in other words, to advance humanity to a higher and still higher condition :

"سوداندك چاكداسم. سواداندك چاكداسم. سواداندك چاكداسم."

(Y. 30, 9.) "سوداندك چاكداسم."

"May we be those of Thee, who make human life progressive."

It should not be understood, however, that progress is achieved by great actions alone, since, according to the Avesta, any man, of any position whatever, who performs any duty sincerely, is spoken of as advancing the progress of life on earth by means of his actions :—

"سوداندك چاكداسم. سواداندك چاكداسم. سواداندك چاكداسم."

"سوداندك چاكداسم. سواداندك چاكداسم. سواداندك چاكداسم."

"سوداندك چاكداسم. سواداندك چاكداسم. سواداندك چاكداسم."

"سوداندك چاكداسم. سواداندك چاكداسم. سواداندك چاكداسم."

(Y. 19, 17.)

plays such an important part in the doctrine of the Avesta—not to speak of the point treated in the last paragraph, which we have referred to only from the standpoint of a Zoroastrian Mazdayasnian's conception of duty.

(N. B. As to Lodge's important statement that "the laws of Nature are an aspect of what is called the Will of God" (p. 33, para 1st), its treatment from the Avestan standpoint will be given in the treatment of the subject on "the relationship of God and goodness": see pages 99-101 of *this Essay*.

V, VI, and VII.

(The subjects of these three clauses being closely connected together we have treated them together, in three different ways: Meanwhile, we give below the summary of Lodge's statements in each of the clauses).

V.: "Good is that which promotes development, while evil is that which retards development. Development and growth are in accordance with the law of the Universe, and the law of the Universe is synonymous with the Will of God. Hence goodness is identical with the Will of God. The question, however, is whether goodness is a supreme entity in the Universe to which both God and man are subject, or whether it represents only the arbitrary will of the creator. The answer from the scientific standpoint is this:—"Given existence of a non-stagnant kind, and ultimate development must be its law. Call it whatever you like, it is part of a revelation of the nature of God." As regards the conception of God, it is preposterous not to attribute to God the powers and faculties which man possesses. He can be represented as the Impersonation of Truth, Love and Beauty—a Being, in comparison with whose attributes the highest faculties of man are but a dim shadow." (Lodge, pp. 36-40).

VI: "Men being a part of the Universe is capable, when his nature is uncorrupted by greed, of distinguishing between what helps and hinders the work of the Guiding Spirit. He is a part of the Universe, which has a Divine Nature in it, and which is endowed with some power of control to assist in the scheme of development, in which respect he is called a Son and Co-worker with God. His work as a conscious agent on earth

is that of Progress, which makes him an effective servant, aye friend, of the Guiding and Controlling Spirit." (L. pp. 42-44.)

VII: "Evil is not an absolute thing; it may be said to be only the absence of good. Man represents a rise in the scale of moral existence, which makes it possible for him to fall, which falling, then, is indicated by what is called evil or sin. It is only because man has a sense of goodness, that a sense of evil arises in him. There is no error or wickedness in the external nature, inasmuch as it is unconscious, and represents a scale of existence far inferior to that of man. Man is a free, conscious, and active agent, who is liable to fall, and conflict and difficulty are essential for his training and development." (L. pp. 46-51.)

Inasmuch as the subject treated in the 5th, 6th and 7th clauses, are in substance one and the same, we propose to divide the contents of these three clauses into three parts, each of them dealing exclusively with one point only. The three divisions will have reference to the following three points respectively: (1) The problem of good and evil (in which a very small part of the 5th clause, and the whole of the 7th, are included); (2) the position which man ought to occupy in relation to good and evil (which is the point treated by Lodge in the 6th clause); (3) the conception of God, and the principle of Goodness in relation to God (which point forms by far the greater part of Lodge's 5th clause).

The above three are very fit subjects for a student of the Avestan literature to investigate into; specially the problem of good and evil, chiefly because of the fact that it is the manner of treating this problem which has led some learned men to speak of Zarathushtra's religion as a dualistic one. Let us first see how this problem of good and evil is dealt with in our Avestic writings.

(a) THE PROBLEM OF GOOD AND EVIL:

We all know that the fundamental principles of good and evil are represented in the Avestic writings by the terms "Spenta Mainyu" and "Angra Mainyu" (or rather Vohu Mainyu and Aka Mainyu, as these latter occur at so many places in the Gathas). Examining the root-meaning of these terms, we find

corroborate to some extent the statements made by Lodge. They are solitary passages, indeed; but considering the extreme meagreness of the extant Avesta writings, their significance should not be underrated by us.

Now since evil is said to be "the necessary consequence of a rise in the scale of moral existence" (L. p. 46), we ought to expect from it the natural corollary that a complete freedom from this evil is a far higher condition than even the unconscious sinless condition of lifeless nature; and it is this which Lodge, too, emphasized in the 2nd Clause (p. 22). Now it is this very corollary that we meet with in Y. X, 9:

“ (Y. X., 9) “
 ၁။ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌
 ၂။ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌
 ၃။ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌
 ၄။ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌
 ၅။ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌
 ၆။ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌
 ၇။ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌
 ၈။ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌
 ၉။ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌
 ၁၀။ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌ နေရာတော်၌ နေထိုင်ရာ၌

“Ahura Mazda declared the Worshipping Friend of His as being a better creation than (even) the Best Asha.”

Here, we are told that a man, who has become the friend of God by means of the highest character (and this cannot be without Asha), is a being far better than even the great principle of Asha ; in other words, a person who has *consciously* realised Asha and other Divine conditions within himself, is regarded as greater than Asha itself, as this latter represents only an *unconscious* highest condition.

Some would perhaps think that the quotation of some solitary passage from the Avesta in support of some or other of Lodge's statements, is not a very dignified performance. Nevertheless, we have not thought it fit to discard this method, for the reason that those very solitary passages go a great way in bringing home to our minds the ideas that prevailed among our ancient ancestors ; and here we gain a great thing, bearing in mind the fact that we are the inheritors of only a very meagre quantity of literature relating to those our ancestors.

(b) HOW CAN MAN KNOW GOOD FROM EVIL, AND WHAT POSITION HE OUGHT TO TAKE UP IN RELATION TO GOOD AND EVIL? (see the summary of Lodge's statements given on pages 78 and 79 of this Essay). (L. pp. 42-44.)

Those, who would develop and hold steadfast to Vohu Mano, ought to suppress various sorts of passion in themselves, which act of suppression brings about the development of Vohu Mano, accompanied with its concomittant blessings. As long as a man's Vohu Mano is obscured by the prevalence of passion (in general) in him, he cannot properly distinguish between what is good and what is evil. We should lay special emphasis

on the word **𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀** in the last-quoted passage, inasmuch as it is the very Avesta word which exactly responds to Lodge's phrase "harmony with the rest of the Universe" (p. 42). Asha, the law which governs the harmony of the Universe, should not, and cannot, be departed from by those who, knowing the difference between good and evil, want to adapt themselves to the harmony of the Universe. It is not occasionally, but often and often, that whenever any good position of man's life is spoken of in the Gathas, we have the term **𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀** used, as denoting the instrument by means of which to bring about that good position. Aye, do we not know the significance of the phrase

𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 which, when used with reference to any good thing, indicates that good thing as having resulted from one's harmony with the Law (Asha). As a contrast to

this phrase, we find **𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀** (Y. XXXII, 12),

which carries with it quite an opposite idea, that of departing from the law of harmony that governs the Universe. Now the fact that it is the absence of Reason (Vohu Mano), and the presence of passion which deceives a man in the act of discriminating between good and evil, can further be seen from Y. XXX, 6:

𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀
𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀
𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀
𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀
𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀

work of humanity shows itself in innumerable forms, all tending to the great work of the progress of the world at large. It is this idea of progress, which is implied in the term **لادزد سید**.

This term very often indicates the contribution made by a particular man to the work of universal progress, by certain actions which he did on earth and through which the succeeding generations have always realised some benefits or other. This progress is "towards an advancing goal" (L. p. 43, para 2nd), the progress of the past absorbed in that of the present, the latter again absorbed in the progress of the future. It is certainly this idea that is implied in Farvardin Yt. 17, where the Fravashis of the living generation are called stronger than those of the past, while the Fravashis of the future generations stronger even than those of the present—all which simply expresses the great truth that the progress of the world at large increases with the advance of time.

Having laid down, then, the general function to which all works of mankind tend, we should deal with the point as to in what capacity of his, man is required to work for this object. Lodge lays down "that we have a Divine nature, that we are sons and co-workers with God" (p. 43, para 2nd); "that we are essential and active agents in the terrestrial order of things" (p. 43, para 3rd); "that we ought to be 'effective servants of the Guiding and Controlling Spirit,' giving our service not simply in the capacity as servants, but also as friends, it being a conscious service (p. 44); "that conflict and difficulty being inevitable in our work, our function is to contend with these."

All these statements of Lodge are worthy of the religion of Zarathushtra. First, the fact that we have a Divine Nature, has been already emphasized more than once before, when we spoke of man in connection with Vohu Mano, Armaiti, &c. Again, working with God is equivalent to working for God,

it is God who presides over all our actions on earth (**سزدهن اهورا**).

(**سزدهن اهورا**); the prophets and Saoshyants

of all times and places only act as messengers and spokesmen of His Will to men on earth, not, however, as being will-less instruments in the hands of God, but as conscious beings who have made their will one with God's Will; a man is called the potent existence belonging to God, when he furthers the cause of Asha, by means of thoughts, words and deeds:

“ *ahura mazda, the brilliant, the glorious, the greatest, the best, the fairest, the most enduring (i.e., unchangeable), the most possessed of practical power, of the best body, the greatest attainer of asha, the good creator, and fully joyful.* ”

(Yt. I, 1.)

“ Ahura Mazda, the Brilliant, the Glorious, the Greatest, the Best, the Fairest, the Most Enduring (i.e., Unchangeable), the most possessed of practical power, of the Best Body, the Greatest Attainer of Asha, the Good Creator, and Fully joyful.”

No more proof is needed to show that God in the Avesta is never represented as an Unconscious, Impersonal Being. First and Foremost, He is a Personal Being (though of course far more than what we usually understand by ‘Personal’), the Impersonation of all the great and good things some of which we, mankind, know and possess here on earth, and some of which, it is possible, we cannot only not know or possess, but cannot even conceive of. Turning, again, from the Yasna to the Yashts, we fall upon Hormuzd Yasht, a writing from the very title of which we can expect to know something relating to the conception of God. In this Yasht, all sorts of good epithets are applied to Ahura Mazda, as when He is called the Wise, the Beneficent, the Invulnerable, the Healing, the All-seeing, the Glorious, the Protector, the Nourisher, the Over-lord, the Undeceiveable, the All-conquering, &c. &c. (cf. Hor. Yt. 7, 8, 12, 15). The one thing that is to be remarked in connection herewith is this that He is not only represented as possessing certain attributes, but also as these attributes themselves in aggregate, that is to say, the very “Impersonation” of these attributes, as when He says: ‘I am *Khratu*, I am *Khratumdo*; I am *Chisti*, I am *Chistivdo*; I am *Spāno*, I am *Spananghvau*.’ Again the fact that the Avesta conception of God is a “human” conception, is further supported by Farvardin Yt. 81, where the author goes to the length of speaking of the Soul and Body of Ahura Mazda, when he says Manthra Spenta to be the Soul of

Ahura Mazda (*Manthra Spenta*),

in the Avesta by such words as **𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎**. Goodness in the Avesta is equivalent to doing according to the law, and a man who doesn't swerve from the natural, moral or spiritual law, is described as good. Let us examine how this general statement is borne out by testimonies from the extant Avesta literature.

First, we are to lay special emphasis on the term **𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎** which, as we said before, expresses the idea of the Law which governs the Universe. This **𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎**, is very often in the Gathas spoken of by way of personification, where Ahura Mazda and Asha are both used in the vocative case. But when the word is used with an abstract signification as something possessed by mankind, it denotes the harmony with that Law, which mankind keeps in their actions on earth. Now there is one fact which is noteworthy of attention, and it is this that all the traditional translations of the Avesta in the Pahlavi and Pazend, and even some translations of modern times, interpret the term **𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎** as meaning piety or righteousness. This is a strong

testimony as to how what we call goodness, or piety, or righteousness, is expressed in the Avesta by a term whose original pure significance is only the Law, or harmony with that Law, when spoken of as a condition of mankind (when we say the Law, we should not be understood to mean the physical law of external nature, but the law by which the whole Universe is governed, physically, morally and spiritually). Now, as we learn from Hadokhat Nask I, 1, 2, 4, this Asha is a manifestation of the Will of God, or what Lodge calls 'part of a revelation of the nature of God':—

” 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎
𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎
𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎
𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎
𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎

All these instances have one idea running in them, viz., that progress of the whole animal creation goes on by means of the Law (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌) (though, in the case of mankind, this progress is a conscious one).

We have seen before how Ahura Mazda is said to dwell along with Asha and Vohu Mano. Hence it is that the term Vohu Mano should also be taken into consideration along with Asha, when discussing the subject of the principle of goodness in relation to God. Vohu Mano (Reason) plays as great a part in the teaching of the Gathas as Asha does. We have already spoken about the Will of God (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌); we have

also spoken about Asha as a manifestation of that Will, as a revelation of God's nature. Now what connection does all this have with Vohu Mano? We shall repeat the formerly quoted sentence.

𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌

(=Thou dost dwell along with Asha and Vohu Mano). This leads us to the corollary that the Will of God, as manifested in Asha, was produced by means of His Vohu Mano, which Vohu Mano, too, therefore subsists in the nature of God.* God, Reason, and the Law, make up the Trinity, so to say, of the Gathic Godhead. Goodness, as we understand it, is only another term for acting in accordance with these two—Vohu Mano and Asha—which two are verily the only things that contribute to the progress or development of man, that is, which tend to his salvation, as is evident from so many passages in the Gathas. Can any conception of the idea of goodness be more scientific than this?

* This is another corroboration of the fact that the Will of God is not an arbitrary one, but it is dictated by the Great Reason that subsists in him.

VIII.

(As the subject treated by Lodge in Clause No. 8th is one which we have dilated upon already in Clause No. 3rd in connection with the subject of Responsibility and Free-will, we have thought it needless to refer to it here again).

IX and X.

"Life exists everywhere. There is an infinite range of beings both higher and lower in the scale of existence than man. Throughout nature there is a tendency to self-realisation; and this tendency is also to be seen in the world of spirit, since "the process of evolution can be regarded as the gradual unfolding of the Divine Thought, or Logos, throughout the Universe, by the action of Spirit upon matter."

(L. pp. 56-63).

These two clauses deal with two parts of one and the same subject—the position of man in the infinite range of beings, the first part relating to beings lower than man, the second to those higher than man. Here we should refer to what we said in our treatment of the 1st Clause, regarding the terms **𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌**,

𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌 and **𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌**. The term **𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌**, as we said, comprehends within itself all existing things, animate and inanimate, material and spiritual. (For instances, see the 1st Clause).

The second term **𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌** has reference solely to the animate beings on earth (**𐬵𐬀** = to live), although the animate being, Man, who is differentiated from the rest of the animal creation, has the term **𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌** specially applied to it. We

referred also to the fact that the Avestan writings do not ascribe life to plants, and sea, and earth, in the sense in which Lodge does it. Nevertheless, the first question (p. 56) put by Lodge as to whether there are beings lower in the scale of existence than man, is one which can be easily answered by any human being not devoid of the smallest modicum of understanding. The second question, however, (p. 60) in connection with the possibility of the existence of beings higher than man "in some of the innumerable worlds circling round the distant stars" (L.p. 60), is a question which cannot be said to have passed through the sphere of conjecture even in the present state of scientific advancement. Aye, even a mere conjecture regarding this was impossible in our ancient times, in consideration of the fact that the sun, the stars, and all our luminaries do not seem to

of this "tendency to self-realisation" as manifested in the world of Spirit, and which, we think, can be examined to a certain extent from the standpoint of the Avesta. It runs thus: "The process of evolution can be regarded as the gradual unfolding of the Divine Thought, or Logos, throughout the Universe, by the action of Spirit upon matter." It should surely be interesting to seek for an Avesta equivalent of what is termed 'Logos'.

We are of opinion that **𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀**, as we have explained it in the last clause, represents an idea similar to that implied in 'Logos'. Here, of course, we are treading upon slippery ground, but we ought not to overlook the significance of a Gathic sentence which, we suspect, contains a partial expression of the idea implied in the above-quoted statement of Lodge. Here is the sentence:

𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀

(Yt. XLIII, 16). "𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀"

Now what is meant by **𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀**? Literally meaning "Asha environed in matter", it doesn't seem to be different from what is called "Logos Incarnate (in human form)." This "Logos Incarnate" (**𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀**) becomes "powerful" (**𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀**) "through life" (**𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀**) In other words, **𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀**, although it in

itself is powerful and good, becomes all the more so when realised by a human being; in fact, this very human being, who has perfectly realised Asha, is called the incarnation of Asha. A commentary to this is to be found in Y.X, 9, where a man who has become the friend of God (and this cannot be without realising Asha), is described as superior to Asha itself:

𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀

𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀

(Y. X, 9.) "𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀"

We quoted the former Gathic sentence in order to show the significance of what Lodge means by the phrase "the unfolding of Logos by the action of Spirit upon matter," which, as he says, is the very self-realisation of Logos. According to the position of the Avesta in the light of the above Gathic sentence, we say the realisation of Asha by a human being is identical with the self-realisation of Asha through the material form of a human being, and here consciousness plays the chief part. We are conscious of the danger of drawing such an important general conclusion from a solitary instance like the above ; but the significance of even this solitary instance can never be overrated when we know the fragmentary condition of the extant Avesta writings.

XI.

IMMANENCE.

"As regards organisation, we cannot think of the ultimate origin of anything ; and the same is the case regarding maintenance. Nevertheless, just as man's movements are all inspired by thought, so there must be some Intelligence immanent in all the processes of nature, these being not random and purposeless, but organized and beautiful. But it is as difficult to detect the indwelling Purpose amid the spontaneous operations of Nature, as it is to infer the thought and purpose underlying all human activity. As the spontaneousness of Nature implies a control from within by something indwelling and all-pervading, it (the spontaneousness) is an indicator of immanence. The Thought and the Purpose in the processes of nature can be revealed to man with sufficiently awakened perceptions. This doctrine of immanence leads some people to the idea that the world arose by chance, which wrong idea is due to the man feeling the contrast between the uniformity of nature and the changes of purpose which accompany his own will. The process of evolution is self-sustained, since its guidance is uniform and constant. It first manifests itself in struggle for existence on the part of animal life, until it becomes conscious and purposeful in humanity : this self-conscious evolution is that from which we expect something far more than from the long slow unconscious process." (L. pp. 64-75).

The eleventh clause turns round the questions as to what is the origin of existence, what maintains that existence, and whether there is anything immanent in it. As to the first question, Lodge dismisses it by the simple statement that "we

cannot conceive the origin of any fundamental existence ; that though we can partially account for the material forms of things which are " in a perpetual flux", we cannot account for " the ultimate essence and reality " of anything " (p. 65): Then he quotes Fenelon, to show what view is being had by religion in general regarding this question of origin where the latter ascribes not only the origin of every existence to God, but also speaks of all the amount of intelligence in the world as derived from Him, and the whole course of action in the world as solely the result of His supreme activity (p. 66, para 2nd). Now let us see what the Avestan writings have got to say in connection with this first point about the origin.

We know from Y. XLIV, (3-5) that this subject of the origin of existence had strongly appealed to the mind of Zarathushtra. Indeed, the tenor of these three passages leads us to see that Zarathushtra was in no doubt of all things having originated in God ; but the doubt which is implied in his questions was not a doubt as regards all things having originated in God, but regarding the means by which Ahura Mazda brought those things into existence. He wants to know through what agency it was that the sun was first set going in his course, what was the cause of the waxing and waning of the moon, and so on with other phenomena of the world. The fact that Zarathushtra had no doubt regarding all things having their origin in God, is illustrated

by the occurrence of the word **𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀** in **𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀**.

𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀. This word has been

understood by some to mean "except Thee" implying thereby that all the questions put by Zarathushtra only implied an affirmation that he regarded Ahura Mazda as the originator of everything. The fact that Ahura Mazda is the originator of everything, has certainly never been denied by Zarathushtra ; but we should make it clear that the question

regarding **𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀** (Moon) does not simply imply an affirmation

of the actual fact, but that it is a question in which the questioner wants to get a knowledge of something that he does not know yet. If the question implies only an affirmation of the actual fact, why should Zarathushtra say in the next line "I want to know this and the other things from Thee O Mazda !"

𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 **𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀** **𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀**

Hence, the sentence connected with 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 should be translated thus: "Who is he (or what is that) by means of whom (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 being instrumental) through Thee (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎) does

the moon wax and wane?" From this it is clear that Zarathushtra is quite aware of the fact that the natural phenomena have their ultimate origin in God; but what he wants to know more is regarding the mediate agency (and not ultimate origin), by means of whom those phenomena are brought into being. In connection with this point we should draw attention to the fact that the 57th para of Farvardin Yt. furnishes, as it were, an answer to Zarathushtra's question in Y. XLIV, relating to the sun and stars—an answer which corroborates our opinion that the thing which Zarathushtra desires to know from God is the means by which the revolution of the sun and stars was arranged, and not anything respecting the ultimate originator of the sun and stars. The answer is to the effect that it was the agency of Fravashis which made the sun and the stars begin their course of revolution, these luminaries having not been in motion before the coming on of the Fravashis. Indeed, there are a few questions in the same Y. XLIV, which imply only an affirmation that God is the

ultimate originator, as "𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎" (who is the Progenitor and the Father of

Asha?), &c. &c. Hence, when Lodge says that we cannot conceive the ultimate origin of any fundamental existence, we should state the position of the Avesta in opposition to it, that Zarathushtra was capable of conceiving that ultimate origin, and this verily is He whom he calls Ahura Mazda. This Y. XLIV, is the only chapter in the Gathas, which contains passages more or less connected with the question of the origin of existence. In the later Avestan writings, however, as we see, this problem of the origin is summarily solved in the sentence

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎 "The two Spirits created the creations." It seems inexplicable whether the author of this sentence meant, by the word 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎, simply the forms of living beings which change with the progress of time,

is to the effect that "just as all the effective movements of mankind are inspired by thought, in the same way, the processes of nature, which are not random and purposeless, but organized and beautiful, must have some Intelligence immanent in them (p. 64); that the operations of nature are spontaneous, because there is something indwelling and all-pervading in them, which actuates them and controls them (p. 74, para 1st)." The very term 'maintenance' makes us turn our eyes to the opening passages of Farvardin Yt., where Ahura Mazda is made to speak unto Zarathushtra that He (Ahura Mazda) maintains

(وَالسَّمَاءِ وَالْمَآءِ وَالْأَرْضِ) the sky, the waters, and the earth

through the efficacy and power of the Fravashis ; that such processes of nature, as the act of procreation and the revolution of the sun, moon and stars, take place through the efficacy and power of the Fravashis ; and so on. Now what are these Fravashis " and what connection have they with the maintenance of the Universe ? Before dealing with the subject proper, therefore, we shall here digress a little by way of interpretation of

the term **الاستعداد**.

This term has been understood upto now to mean something which this writer is not able to conform to. The term "Fravashi," has reference to something which tends to the evolution or progress both of the individual and of the world at large. From an examination of the whole of Farvardin Yt. and of a significant fragment in Handokht Nask (III, 39, 40), we are inclined to interpret this term in three ways, which, however, are not in any way fundamentally different from one another: (1) It represents the latent (or potential) power (or energy) of development that subsists in every individual, as witness the testimony (Farvardin Yt. 76) that the Fravashis existed when the creations were created, meaning thereby that every individual began his existence with a potential power of development latent in him; (2) Sometimes this term represents the already-developed part of a man's self, as distinguished from that which is not yet developed; and this it is which makes us praise the Fravashis of so many good men in the Farvardin Yt. Now, the reason why Fravashis are never spoken of as evil (just as the فرافش)

of a bad man is sometimes spoken of as evil) lies in this very idea of development, since development, or progress, is always good, and thus the development which an evil man has not

realised but which is certainly latent in him, can very properly be spoken of as good in itself. (3) Fravashi sometimes represents the idea of development, or progress of the world at large, which is brought about by progress of individuals ; and it is this idea of permanent progress, which is the reason why (in Farvardin Yt.) the Fravashis of the present generations are spoken of as stronger than those of the past, while the Fravashis of the future stronger even than those of the present ; which implies that the progress of the world in general increases with the advance of time. These are the three ideas which we see expressed in the term Fravashi. It must be remembered, however, that what we call development, or progress, is to be brought about by action actually done. Moreover, the fragment in Hadokht Nask, we referred to above, where the *Fravashis are spoken of as having their origin in Spenta Mainyu and the Best Mind*, goes to corroborate our opinion that what we call Fravashi has some reference to the idea of development, or progress, be this progress latent or actual, be it individual or collective.

Let us now take up the thread of argument where we saw before, how these Fravashis are described by Ahura Mazda as those by means of whom He maintains "all the processes of Nature" to say in the words of Lodge. In fact, the Fravashis are described as the indispensable agents in the work of maintenance. A pure materialist will scoff at the idea that matter is governed by Spirit, that there is any connection between the actions done by men and the events of nature. But a student of the Avesta can never place himself in such a position when he knows that the connection of spirit and matter, aye, the governance of matter by spirit, is one of the truths inculcated in that religion. By this we mean that though the law of nature is constant and uniform, though it is not in human power to go against it, yet we know of certain phenomena of external nature (as rainfall, earthquake, &c. &c.), which, though immediately due to the physical nature, yet owe their origin to the conduct of the living world and specially of mankind, looking at those phenomena from the metaphysical point of view. This is what we mean when we say that there is a strong connection between spirit and matter in the whole Universe ; in other words, the Fravashis that are said to maintain the Universe are the same as the Fravashis that have reference to the actions done by mankind, which actions tend to the progress of the world at large. We say that the work of the maintenance of Nature is inherently bound up with the evolution of the living world ; aye, that "the Intelligence" that governs and maintains the whole universe is an indispensable preliminary to the evolution or progress, of that

Universe, And this which Lodge calls "Intelligence" is nothing but the *وایس دیس دیس* (Best Mind), that is spoken of in that fragment in Hadokht Nask, as one of the two sources of the Fravashis. Special stress is to be laid on the fact that the "Best Mind" is associated with Spenta Mainyu in the maintenance of the Universe, which means that "the mind", or "the Intelligence" (as Lodge calls it) is immanent in everything. We said something practically to the same effect when we discussed the principles of good and evil, and pointed out how Spenta Mainyu is to be recognised as the Governing Force of the whole world.

Upto this point we have seen the importance of the Fravashis as the maintaining forces of the world. A good illustration of this is to be seen in Farvardin Yt. 13, where it is said, that, but for the presence of the Fravashis the world would have belonged to the Druja (the Personification of disorder as distinguished from Asha which represents the Law of Order); This means that chaos would have continued to prevail in the absence of the Fravashis; but the coming of the Fravashis evolved cosmos out of chaos; the waters began to flow, the luminaries of the heavens began to revolve, &c. &c. (cf. Farvardin Yt. 53-58)—all these through "the efficacy and power of the Fravashis," as the Farvardin Yt. terms it. It is this order evolved out of chaos, which is called by Lodge "the spontaneousness of the operations of nature" and he attributes this spontaneousness to "something immanent" in those operations (L. p. 72) which "something immanent" finds response in the Avesta to what is called the Best Mind accompanied with Spenta Mainyu, as we saw just before.

At this stage, we pass on to another point discussed by Lodge, viz., the idea entertained by some that "the world arose by chance" (L. p. 73). It should be clearly seen from what we said before as to what the position of the Avestan writings is regarding this idea. In Farvardin Yt. 76, 78, we find, as it were, a description of the Avestan Genesis, which contains the statement that the Fravashis were standing there when the two Mainyus created the creations, that when Angra Mainyu rushed in the creation of Cosmos, there came in the way against him, Vohu Mano and Athra. Forthwith did the Fravashis break down the power of Angra Mainyu, and then the great course of the world began, waters began to flow, vegetation to grow: "

which generally means human life, denotes here something more abstract than what is implied in the term ‘human life’ since in the above sentence **روح** is placed side by side with some other things which have reference solely to the spiritual self of a man. In our opinion, **روح** in this sentence is equivalent to what Plato calls ‘the Immortal Principle of a mortal animal’ (from **هو** = to be, implying the idea of that which is, that is, that which eternally exists, or which is immortal). Indeed the idea which Plato wanted to express in this phrase of his seems to be similar to what we usually understand by the word ‘soul’. But it seems that **روح** in this sentence is something that is eternally pure and unchanging, which can never be spoken of as evil, while what we call soul is sometimes spoken of as good, sometimes as bad, according as the man is good or bad. The second term, **انسان** which, as we said before, has something to do with progress, individual or collective, seems to denote the already developed part of a man’s self, that part of his self about which a man has become perfectly conscious. (For fuller explanation of **انسان**, see page 53 of this Essay). The third thing **وجود**, as we opine, denotes together both the developed and the undeveloped part of a man’s self, which, therefore, is more comprehensive than the term **انسان**. It is this inclusion of the smaller part of Fravashi in the whole part of Urvan, that seems to be the cause of the error by which **وجود** is confounded with **انسان**, as, in the sentence—**روح و انسان وجود** “روح و انسان وجود” — as, in the sentence—**روح و انسان وجود** “روح و انسان وجود”.

represents the Daena of a man meeting him after his death, and expressing a sense of joy if the man conducted himself well on earth, but expressing a sense of grief in the opposite case. (See *Hadokht Naak*, II, 9-11.)

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“ His own Daena appears unto that (good) man, walking ‘ in that breeze ’ in the form of a virgin, &c. &c. Then the soul of that good man asked her ‘ what virgin art thou ? &c. &c.’ Then unto him replied the Daena : ‘ I am verily thy own Daena, O man of good thought, of good word, of good deed, and of good spiritual body ! ’ ”

To understand this picturesque allegory of the author does not require a far-stretched imagination. What we gather from it is that Daena represents a sort of spiritual body, which, as we said before, bears fruit in the next life, this body being in the course of preparation by the man himself as he is doing various actions on earth, and depending for its high or low condition on the high or low character of those actions.

At this stage, we shall examine what connection lies between Daena and Fravashi, as these words are generally used. Both these terms have reference to the actions of man, but the difference between them is, that the Fravashis are invariably spoken of as good, since even the potential energy of progress, that is undeveloped in the case of a wicked man, cannot be said to be evil, the fact being that that wicked man has simply not yet developed that potential energy; while, on the other hand,

Daena may be good or evil according as the actions done by man are good or evil, as we see in the Hadokht Nask and other stray passages in the Avesta.

All the above exposition regarding Ahu, Daena, and Fravashi, may seem to be a digression from the treatment of Lodge's subjects of the higher faculties of man : but the fact that Lodge has not treated the subject by dividing what he generally calls 'self' into its component parts, while the Avesta writings have done so, obliges us to explain all the aspects of a man's self that are described in the Avesta writings. When Lodge says that "something more than mere life is possessed by us" (p. 76), we should think it proper to see in details what those things are which a man possesses, which are higher and superior to "mere life" as this latter is possessed by the entire animal creation.

Let us now turn to the fifth condition of a man's self 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀

We have already explained this term in the 3rd Clause, where we showed how the two different meanings applied to this term, viz., 'Understanding' and 'Consciousness' can be harmonized with each other. We pointed out by quoting the fragment of "Vispa Humata" that consciousness is developed more and more in a man, in proportion as he has understanding. Mere superficial knowledge of different things doesn't lead to the development of consciousness ; but it is the faculty of understanding (in the higher sense of the word) when brought to bear on the amount of knowledge gained, that makes a man more and more conscious of himself. The importance of 'Baodhangh' as an indispensable condition and part of a man's self, can be gauged from Vend. XIX, 29, where it is not only a man's 'Urvan' but his 'Baodhangh' too along with it, that is said to be responsible for his actions.

Here we have finished the treatment of all the words contained in the sentence quoted in the beginning, by way of explanation of all the higher spiritual features of a man's self, as these are described in the later Avesta writings.

Turn we now to the Gathas. Every student of the Gathas knows what prominent importance is attached to Vohu Mano, Asha and Armaiti in these writings. These three are, as it were, the central points round which the whole doctrine of the extant Gathas is woven. The term. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀, as a spiritual

(V. XIII, 3.)

In the first of these sentences we find the phrase **𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀**.
𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀, wherein lies the origin of the term "Frashokereti," which has been identified with latter-day writers with the idea of so-called Resurrection, but which expresses nothing else than the idea of securing a condition better than the former one. In this respect, then, we should draw a line of demarcation between the Gathas and that part of the rest of the Avesta writings, which is known as Zamyād Yasht. In Zamyād Yt. the same phrase **𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀** has been understood in a different way, that is, the writer's meaning of the phrase is one approaching the common idea of Resurrection, since he talks of all the beings rendered immortal at a particular time (see Zamyad Yt. 11). On a line with this is also the idea expressed in Farvardin, Yt. 129, where a most explicit statement is made to the effect that he who is called Saoshyant will, at a particular period of time, bring about a resurrection by which men will be endowed with "imperishable material bodies" (**𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀**). It is, again, this very supposed coming of the so-called Saoshyant that has led to the coining of the latter-day phrase—**𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀**.
𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 meaning thereby that the first human being was Gaya Maretan, while the last shall be Saoshyant. Almost all religions of mankind, we know, have their ancient, pure, abstract truths, perverted by the later generations, who, not capable of penetrating into the ideas and phrases of their ancient religion, interpret those ideas and phrases according to their own narrow outlook. On account of this it is that we should not forget to distinguish between the idea of continual regeneration as expressed in the Gathas, and the idea of the so-called resurrection going to take place at a particular period of time, as expressed in some of the later Avestan writings. We see that Lodge himself is in favour of accepting the idea of a state of salvation in which individuals are given "a glorified body"

"O Zarathushtra, Haurvatat and Ameretat, too, are my creations, which two form the reward of the holy who have gone to the next existence."

In connection with this instance, we should see the bearing of Y. XLVI, 19, where, too, we are told of a reward that accrues to a man in his next life (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀) :

𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀
𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀
𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀
𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀
(Y. XLVI, 19.)

"He who verily works out the most progressive desire for the sake of me, who am Zarathushtra,—him they will think worthy of the reward in the next life, along with all those things that are produced by this earth (N.B.—I have not translated 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀

𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀). Now, the question is : Is this reward the reward of Haurvatat and Ameretat ? and is the next life a human life or some other kind of life ? if it is not human life, how can this reward be said to contain things produced from or connected with this earth ? Hence, if we take the word 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 mean the next human life only (which is very

probably the case), our former interpretation of Haurvatat and Ameretat as condition belonging to this material life is corroborated. The only difference that would then arise between the above-quoted sentence of Hormazd Yt. and the passage of Y. XLVI, 19, will lie in the fact that the former has 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 while the latter has 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀.

But these two terms, again, as we pointed out before, cannot necessarily be materially different from one another, since

𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 (Existence) is only a more comprehensive term than 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 (Human life). Besides all this, if one takes the trouble of examining the connection of Haurvatat and Ameretat with Armaiti and Khshathra at so many places in the Gathas, he will come to the conclusion that regeneration (as expressed in the phrase 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀) is a thing to be achieved on this earth; that the passage from one condition—be that passage of the individual or of the whole society—to another higher and more advantageous one, is in it self regeneration; that Haurvatat and Ameretat (as far as these have reference to this material life) are realised in a greater and greater measure in proportion as this regeneration progresses more and more.

From the above exposition the reader will naturally ask: Is there, then, no reference to the immortality of the soul in the Gathas?—in the Gathas which are understood to contain great philosophical truths. Our reply to this question is, that, since that portion of the extant Avestan literature which we designate the Gathas, do not form that entire whole of the Gathas which the Pahlevi writers call the “Gasaniak” portion of the ancient Avesta Literature, we should not be surprised, if such an important subject as the immortality of the soul is not found dealt with in that extant portion. After all, there is nothing in it that should make us deny the immortality of the soul.

Here we have finished the treatment, from the Avestan standpoint, of the second part of the subject which Lodge has treated in the 12th Clause. As regards the merits or demerits of it, a definite pronouncement is out of the question, bearing in mind the unsettled character of the problem, that has been discussed from remote times and not by any means solved.

XIII.

GRACE.

“The Grace of God is that loving kindness which the Good and Loving Power shows by way of helping and guiding us wisely, without any detriment to our incipient freedom. This Grace takes a number of forms, but it was specially manifested

to dwellers on this earth in the life of Jesus Christ, through whose living influence mankind may ultimately rise to the highest point of human efforts. Lodge treats this subject solely with reference to the Christian religion. In doing this he affirms the idea of the Humanity of God and the Divinity of man, which two ideas, says he, "are the essence of the Christian Revelation." Christianity is not only "a revelation of some aspects of" Godhead, but a manifestation of these in the form of humanity. Moreover, incarnation, being "auxiliary to the difficult process of evolution," "matter is an instrument of lofty spiritual purpose"—wherefore "every son of man is potentially also a son of God; and this union," says Lodge, "was completest in Jesus Christ."

(L. pp, 84-90.)

As we said in the summary, it is solely with reference to the life of Jesus Christ that Lodge has explained the bearing of the term 'Grace'. It being so, the whole Clause pertaining to this subject contains matter, which would at first sight seem to have no connection with the Avesta religion, and therefore not fit for an exposition from the Avestan standpoint. Nevertheless, the idea of Grace, and with it some other points, can be treated from the standpoint of the Avesta, independently of Lodge's interpretation of it in connection with the life of Christ.

The idea of Grace, as this term is generally defined by Lodge (p. 84), finds response in the Avestan religion in such terms as

𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌 and 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌. The former (𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌) which

generally means 'help,' doesn't fall short of the idea of Grace when that help is spoken of as emanating from God to his creatures on earth. In the Gathas, we see Zarathushtra and his followers very often invoking Ahura Mazda to their aid in times of difficulty and distress, as is testified to by such passages as we give below. There is, however, one fundamental condition which should be borne in mind when speaking of the Grace of God falling on men on earth. The condition consists in this that the man of whom the Grace is to fall, should be one who acts in his life according to the Will of God, that is, one whose object is to promote more and more not only his own individuality but also the whole human world, or even the whole animate world. This condition forms an essential preliminary to the realisation by a man of the Grace of God. This is very clearly expressed in the well-known Avesta phrase.

is that matter (ماده) is an instrument by which Asha becomes more efficacious inasmuch as it is Conscious Asha (that is, Asha realised by a human being). Hence, again, it is, that in Y. X, 9, the human being living in a material form on this earth, who has, by realising Asha, become the friend of God, is spoken of as superior to Asha itself. Herein lies the difference between Asha in the abstract, and Asha realised by a creature on this earth, which creature is environed with matter. Here, then, in this Gathic line at least, we have a testimony to the fact that matter was not conceived of by our Avestan ancestors as something to be despised, something to be deprecated. Also when we know the very practical character of the Zoroastrian religion, we cannot but conclude that it is not only spirit, but it is matter too along with it, that is given a prominent place in the consideration of all problems that are connected with this human life.

Passing now from this point, let us examine from the Avestan standpoint certain aspects of Christianity which Lodge deals with in this Clause. Christianity, says he, is a human religion; it is revelation of certain attributes of Godhead in the form of humanity (p. 86, para 3rd); the Humanity of God and the Divinity of man are the essence of the Christian Revelation (p. 89, para 1st). From these statements, we have to take three different points into consideration (1) The human conception of God; (2) the Divine nature of man; (3) Revelation. Of these, the first has already been treated by us before (see pages 94-99 of this Essay), where we emphasized that the conception of God in the Avesta writings is entirely a human one, by which all the qualities and attributes that are spoken of in the case of man, are attributed to God in the most perfect degree; that He is never spoken of as an Absolute Impersonal Unconscious Being. As regards the second point about the Divinity of man, this, too, has been already dealt with before (see page 121 of this Essay), where, among other things, we pointed out that such things as Vohu Mano, Armaiti and conscious realisation of Asha designate the Divine Nature of man, and make all the difference between him and the rest of the animal creation. Let us now pass on to the third and most important point, about Revelation.

Revelation in the case of Christ has been harmonized with his Incarnate Divinity; that is, when Revelation is spoken of in the case of Christianity, it is on the assumption that Christ was Godhead in human form. Now every student of the Avesta

knows that this doctrine of Divine Incarnation as understood in regard to Christ, has no place in the Avesta writings. The utmost that is said here is that while Ahura Mazda is the highest spiritual Yazata, there are some highest types of men on earth, who are called earthly Yazatas. This fact, however, should not, and cannot, be made too much of. It only shows how some individuals on earth can be spoken of as having approached the Godhead more than all the others—which circumstance can certainly never admit of such types of men being called incarnate forms of Ahura Mazda. Hence we see that when Revelation is spoken of in the case of Zoroastrian religion, it is on some other grounds than that Zarathushtra was Incarnate Godhead, which was never the case. What, then, is Revelation as understood through the religion of Zarathushtra ?

ON REVELATION.

(Here begins an exposition that has connection with the subject of "Inspiration" in Lodge's 14th Clause, whose treatment from the Avestan standpoint, therefore, should be sought for in this exposition regarding Revelation.)

Revelation is being understood in two different ways by two different classes of people—the educated and the ignorant. The vulgar interpretation of this term is to the effect, that a particular man brought himself face to face with God, with whom he conversed just in the way as a man converses with another man, and that through this conversation, or conference, he came to know certain truths, which he proclaimed to the people of the world, who, because of the very fact that he personally conversed with God, should feel themselves bound to accept what he preached unto them. On the other hand, the intelligent section of mankind, when they speak of something got by Revelation, mean thereby something that was known by certain men on this earth, whose mental, moral, and spiritual powers were far above those of the average mankind, who by the exercise of their *Pure Reason*, came to know some great truths which they proclaimed unto the people for their acceptance. Now these two ways of understanding the idea implied in the term Revelation are not in any way opposed to one another; the idea is inherently the same in both, the only difference lies in the form in which that idea is sought to be expressed, that is, the language used in one case is figurative, while that in the other is abstract. Those, therefore, are in the wrong, who think that they have succeeded in demolishing the idea of Revelation by pointing

Revelation proper has not yet begun at this stage ; it can only be called a preparation thereof. Now it is this resolute will (expressed in XLIII, 8) on the part of Zarathushtra that makes Ahura Mazda declare in Y. XXIX, 8, that he, Zarathushtra,

alone among living beings, intends (*و/ن-ن-ن-ن*) to ac

according to my Will, i.e., to proclaim the Manthras unto mankind, and that, therefore, He (Ahura Mazda) would endow him with the power of eloquence. Hence, the testimony to the preparation made by Zarathushtra for securing Revelation, is afforded by Y. XLIII, 7 and 8, and Y. XXIX, 8.

Now what about Revelation itself, after we have spoken of the preparation for it ? Revelation in the strict sense of the word, may be said to have begun in the case of Zarathushtra in Y. XXXI, 8, where Zarathushtra says that when he grasped Ahura Mazda in two (soul's) eyes, he thought Him (Ahura Mazda) as the Father of Vohu Mano, the source of Asha, and the President over man's actions :

” *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* .
ن-ن-ن-ن . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* .
ن-ن-ن-ن . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* .
ن-ن-ن-ن . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* .
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ن-ن-ن-ن . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* .
 (Y. XXXI, 8.) “ *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* .

“ O Mazda ! It was when I grasped Thee in my (soul's) eyes that I first thought Thee to be the Father of Vohu Mano, the source of Asha, and the President over man's actions.”

In this passage we are specially to emphasize the phrase

” *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . *ن-ن-ن-ن* . ” These words

ought to dispel the doubt of so many sceptics as to whether Zarathushtra had secured Revelation or not. These words denote that he had verily “ caught ” Ahura Mazda in his soul's eyes, in other words, that the Being of Ahura Mazda was reflected in the Pure Reason of Zarathushtra. Another significant circumstance that we come to know from the first line of

“ Declare unto me, O Mazdā ! the Purpose (𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀)

in order that I may promote Thy Yasna, and words for Thy Praise." It should not be forgotten that all the things that Zarathushtra desires to know (as said in the above passages), he desires to know from God only ; he does not set himself to the task of arriving at conclusions regarding God from an observation of the external material phenomenon ; his method of arriving at truths is not an inductive but a deductive one, and herein he resembles Plato and others of the same opinion. But some will contend that such things as Zarathushtra wants to know, can be known without that knowledge being designated as Revelation. It should, however, be remembered that the things he wants to know (*e. g.*, **𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌** and **𐬵𐬀𐬊𐬯𐬭𐬀**)

vision not only of ordinary humanity, but also of men of advanced minds; they can only be known to men whose Pure Reason (عقل محض) is sufficiently developed to admit of an independent knowledge regarding the same; and this knowledge arrived at by means of Pure Reason, independently of the external phenomena, is nothing but Revelation itself. In connection with this argument, we should take into consideration those Gathic passages where the word

ܡܕܢܝܬܐ (= teach) occurs. This word is used by Zarathustra when he^o wants to get a knowledge from God regarding something which cannot be known by the power of ordinary understanding. Moreover, in some of those passages occur also the words “ ܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ ” (= through Thy own tongue), or ܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ (= by Thy own utterance):

"... سہ ماہی، افریقہ اور وسط و جنوبی امریکہ۔"

(Y. XXXI, 3.) “שעורו שש. ששורו שש.”

[illegible]

What is said here by Ahura Mazda is to the effect that Zarathushtra has of his own initiative willed (وایسنده) to teach unto mankind their duties (in other words, to proclaim Manthras unto them) for the sake of Ahura Mazda and Asha; and that, therefore, He, Ahura Mazda, would assist him, Zarathushtra, in his work by endowing him with the power of eloquence. We must mark the sequence of ideas in this passage : first, Zarathushtra willed (وایسنده), and then only, God assisted him. The will of Zarathushtra had become one with God's Will. Hence is manifest the unreasonableness of the statement indulged in by some, that Revelation-prophets are so many will-less instruments in God's hands. We can very properly apply the term " will-less instruments " to such things as the Sun, the moon, the stars, and all other established natural phenomena that perform their functions according to the will of God, but without any consciousness in them, and therefore, without any will of their own part. In the case of man, however, it is this very will and consciousness that makes him to be described as superior to all other creations ; and this superiority is carried to its perfection when a particular man has made his will in harmony with the Will of God. When, therefore, his will is one with God's Will, the things intended to be achieved by that will are the same as those things that are intended to be achieved according to the Will of God. By this way of reasoning, then, we can certainly speak of those prophets as " instruments in the hands of God " (as Lodge has said somewhere else) but at the same time with will and consciousness in them.

We have spoken to this length on the subject of the Revelation of Zarathushtra, as Lodge lays stress on the Revelation in the case of Christ (pp. 86-88 ; and again p. 96, para 3rd). It should not be forgotten, however, as we said before, that Zarathushtra's Revelation and Christ's Revelation stand on different footings. When it is spoken of in connection with Christ it is ~~on the assumption that Christ was Incarnate Divinity, and~~

that is an aspect of the question, which has been the cause of conflict between philosophers and Christian ecclesiasts. This conflict has no room, however, in the case of Zarathushtra's Revelation, since his Revelation was not based on the idea of Incarnate Divinity—aye, he did never claim to be an Incarnate Divinity—but it is based on the scientific and philosophical method of arriving at great universal truths by the exercise of Pure Reason, and it is this Pure Reason and its results that are so greatly emphasized by philosophers like Plato and Kant. Here, in this matter of Revelation, lies another invulnerable point in the Zoroastrian religion, as we before pointed out the soundness and invulnerability of another doctrine of the Zoroastrian religion, viz., the Trinity of the Godhead as expressed in the terms 'God, Reason and the Law' (Mazda Ahura, Vohu Mano and Asha).

XIV.

INSPIRATION (Lodge pp. 92-94).

(See the note given at the beginning of the treatment of the subject of Revelation, on page 140.)

XV.

THE CREED.

"The Creed of Christianity consists in a belief in the Creator, in the life of Christ as a special revelation of God, in the efficacious help given by the Holy Spirit, accompanied with a belief in prayer as a means of communion between Man and God. All forms of Christianity aim at salvation for the race and for the individual; but they differ as to the means by which to attain salvation. One of the four gospels lays stress on vicarious sacrifice, the second on human effort, the third on Church-ordinance, and the fourth on loving kindness. All these differences, however, are overshadowed and dominated by one great feature of the Christian creed, viz., "the idea of a veritable incarnation of the Divine Spirit." Faithful Service consists in "seeking not our own ends, but the ends of the Guiding Spirit of all things." (L. pp. 96-103.)

The subject of this clause contains four points which are of such a character that the Avesta student feels himself in a strong

position to give a full exposition regarding them from the Avestan standpoint. These four points have reference to the ideas of (1) the Creator, (2) the Prophet, (3) Salvation, and (4) the means of Salvation.

As regards the first point, no religion can be properly called religion unless it entertains the idea of Him whom we generally call God. Aye, belief in God is as it were the centre round which that fabric is woven which we call Religion. If there is any difference between any two religions regarding this idea, that difference consists only in the unity or plurality of that Godhead, the idea of God being present in both the cases. Treating this, then, from the Zoroastrian standpoint, we should emphasize the fact that a belief in one Supreme Godhead, the highest of all, is the central feature of that religion, excepting those circumstances (which are very rare) which have led to a lowering of that conception of Supreme Godhead.

These circumstances are two in number : (1) In some of the Yashts (Aban Yt. and Ram Yt.) a tendency to belief in the existence of more gods than one has led to the subordination of the Supreme Godhead to some power whom we to-day can justly describe as subordinate to the Supreme Godhead Himself ; as, for instance, when Ahura Mazda is represented as praying to Ardvi Sura and to Vayu-Uparokairya in the Aban and Ram Yasht, respectively ; (2) The atmosphere of some part of the Vendidad, if not the whole of it seems to be tinged with the idea of duality, by which the idea of the Supreme Godhead is lowered to a degree where that good Godhead is placed in direct antagonism to the evil power that manifests itself in the world (and this is most prominent in the 1st Fargarad of Vend.). Excepting these two circumstances, however, the God of the Zoroastrian religion can very fitly be described as the one Supreme, whose object, the progress of his creations, involved the existence of the two principles, the good and the evil. He is known in the Avesta as Mazda, " the great knower ", Ahura, " the Lord of Existences, " " Apaourvim ", (*i.e.*, not preceded by anything else,) and Dadhvâo, " the Creator, " and so on. (For further information as regards this point, see pp. 94-99 of this Essay.) Take the element of this belief in God away from the Zoroastrian Religion, and you remove one of the greatest and most formidable planks on which that religion rests.

Let us now pass on to the second point, that relating to the belief in our prophet. In Christ, says Lodge, was manifested the special Revelation of God ; further, that he lived at a period

of time which is recorded in history ; that he lived and voluntarily suffered for humanity's sake. (p. 96, para 3rd). Now the votaries of Zarathushtra's religion believe in Zarathushtra as their prophet as much as the Christians believe in Christ. The task of comparing the position of one prophet with that of another, and showing the difference, if any, though it may seem at first sight to be bordering on impudence, is nevertheless one that can be justifiably taken up by any who takes his stand upon reason and toleration. Let us then see, what justification there is for the followers of Zoroastrian religion to believe in Zarathushtra alone as their prophet. A study of the Gathas leads us to define the position as follows :—

At a certain period of time, the Spirit of the Earth (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀, 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀) groaned under the sins of humanity

(Y. XXIX, 1), and besought the Great God to do something to relieve her of it. The reply that came, declared that things were in that position according to the natural course of things ; that no man existed at that particular time who would be able to undertake the gigantic task of introducing order and righteousness on earth ; that one man, however, was there, who during his infancy, showed signs of great intelligence, and who, therefore, seemed capable, as he advanced in years, of realising Revelation and thereby knowing the great truths or principles of life ; that this was Zarathushtra Spitama. Zarathushtra, as we see, then set himself to the task of introducing order and righteousness among the people on earth by preaching the manthras unto them ; he taught them what difference there was between good and evil ; he called on them to exercise their free-will properly when told to choose between good and evil ; he declared unto them that he who chose the good and worked for it on this earth, shall realise happy rewards for it, while that a long period of distress and degradation shall befall them who chose the evil. One of the greatest teachings of Zarathushtra consisted in the principle of

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀

When he commenced his great task, he was a little discouraged by the formidable obstacles that lay in the way of fulfilling that task. Nevertheless he persisted ; and he secured a few followers : he persisted more ; and his following increased greatly. Finally, all the strata of society were penetrated into by his teaching. People began to act according to the great Manthras inculcated on them (Y. LIII, 1). Humanity was purged a great deal of the

enormity of sins that prevailed before ; and thus he succeeded in satisfying the complaint of the Spirit of the Earth. A very insignificant amount of his preachings is preserved in those writings of his which are called the Gathas. By devoting our mind to these, we, the followers of Zarathushtra, to-day, receive inspiration from him as to the great principles that govern human life on earth ; and bearing in mind the difficulty and distress of his own life, we greatly discount the distress and difficulty of our own life, and receive a great impetus to behave ourselves on earth as he did. His life, as we form an idea of it from the Avestan writings, was one in the incidents of which there is nothing rebelling against the reason and commonsense of a man. For all these reasons do we, the followers of the Zoroastrian religion, adore Zarathushtra ; for all these reasons do we accept him as our prophet ; for these reasons do we try to emulate him in our conduct on earth.

The above statement is a kind of justification of our holding Zarathushtra as the prophet, solely from an examination of the Gathas. Now, in consideration of the fact that Lodge "explicitly mentions the Time and Place" (when and where Christ lived), "in order to emphasize the historical and human aspect of the Christian manifestation of Godhead," we think we should here say something about the "time" at least, when Zarathushtra flourished, from an examination of the later Avestan writings."

In Yasna IX. 14, Zarathushtra is described as *the first man* who declared the Will of God unto the people of this earth, and evolved order out of chaos (which is figuratively spoken of as "making the demons concealed under the earth"). The same statement is made in Farvardin Yt. in details, where he is spoken of as *the first* among the living beings of this earth, who proclaimed the *anti-Daeva Law*, and *the first* to whom were revealed the Manthras (= fundamental moral principles of life). (cf. Far Yt. paras 88-92). Moreover, in Mihir Yt. he is described as "*the best purifier*" of the creatures of this earth (para 92nd). Now the fact that he is called "*the first*" who did such and such a thing, makes us investigate into the time when he flourished. Regarding this point, then, we are to examine three things (1) First, we ask, Did any prophet—by prophet we mean one who had secured Revelation and thereafter proclaimed unto humanity the things that he knew by Revelation—did any prophet flourish on this earth before the complaint of the Spirit of the Earth, as this complaint is recorded in the document of Y. XXIX, 1 ? (2) Secondly, the authors of the later Avesta positively assert

that he was the first prophet ; meaning thereby that there was no one of the same kind before him ; (3) Thirdly, the second chapter of the Vendidad bears testimony to the fact that there was Yima who flourished before Zarathushtra, that Ahura Mazda asked Yima to become a bearer of religion unto mankind, that Yima declined it, and instead undertook the task of the material civilization of this earth ; all which is said by way of reply to the question, as to who the man was, with whom God conversed *first of all* except Zarathushtra. Of these three evidences, the last one proves that Yima, though conversed with by God, was not a prophet like Zarathushtra ; that between the period of Yima and the period of Zarathushtra, too, there was no prophet like Zarathushtra ; that, therefore, Zarathushtra was the first prophet of the kind. As regards the second evidence, we ask, Did the author of Farvardin Yt., when he says that Zarathushtra was the first prophet, mean to say that those fundamental moral principles of life that we knew from the Revelation of Zarathushtra, were unknown to mankind before his advent? We think, Yes ; for, otherwise, his statement that Zarathushtra was the first prophet, would be contradicted ; because the fundamental moral principles known by a particular generation are not known to every individual by means of Revelation secured by that individual himself, but they are known by the people through one great human being who had secured Revelation, and who flourished either in their own time or before it. This aspect of the subject leads us to think of what some have said to the effect that Zarathushtra lived on this earth some tens of thousands of years ago. And this opinion of theirs is to be understood in connection with the complaint of the Spirit of the Earth (Y. XXIX) which complaint, according to our opinion, was due to the fact that the fundamental moral principles (= the Manthras) of life were not known to mankind up to that time, because no prophet had yet arisen who could, after securing Revelation, teach them those principles which he knew by Revelation.

We have digressed at this length on the question of the period of Zarathushtra's life, to present a contrast between the historically recorded time of Jesus Christ, and the mystery as regards the same in the case of Zarathushtra. Is there any difference between two prophets from the standpoint of the priority of time in which they flourished ? We mean, is there any difference in the positions of Zarathushtra and Christ, when we suspect the former to be really the first prophet on earth ? We think there is ; as the average humanity is disposed to attach greater importance to the prophet who was the very first revealer of great truths unto mankind than the prophets who flourished

It is now, however, mere abstract qualities that make for salvation ; what is needed is that these qualities should be manifested in actions, and it is these actions (**سودد و گشت**) to which is attached such a great importance in the Gathas. It is by means of actions dictated by Vohu Mano and Asha, that a man's capacity for advancing more and more in the path of salvation is to be tested. Hence it is that the great teaching of Y. XLVII, 1, on the matter of salvation inculcates not only the development of Vohu Mano, and the realisation of Asha, but also the doing of actions, as the right means of achieving salvation :—

[illegible]

“ Ahura Mazda gives unto us Haurvatat and Ameretat, through Spenta Mainyu and the Best Mind, in accordance with *our deeds* and words, and in accordance with our power and sense of responsibility.”

Now, what is the connection of Vohu Mano, Asha, &c. &c. with the Manthras? and how do they all tend to the salvation of mankind? The concatenation lies thus: You must first have *Vohu Mano* developed within yourself (because it is an *inherent* Divine faculty); then you will come to know how to preserve the 'harmony with the Law,' that is, you will realise *Asha*; then, as a further step, you will have to prove that harmony of yours with the law by means of Actions, which have reference to the Divine faculty of *Armaiti*; in doing these, however, you will not have any occasion to depart from the Manthras, that is, a man who has developed Vohu Mano, who has realised Asha, who is doing deeds of Armaiti, is the very man, who is spoken of as the practiser of the Manthras (moral principles of life); further on, when your vision is opened more and more, you will secure Revelation; after securing Revelation, you will have to act *perfectly* in accordance with the Will of God

on earth ; then only you are said to *yaz* (*یاز*) the great Ahura Mazda, and herein lies the real salvation. But what is the ground-work to be prepared before all this ? that is, what marks the very first beginning towards the path of salvation ? It is in the subjugation of the element of passion and emotion that resides in you, that you take the first step towards salvation, and this is aptly expressed in Y. LIII.

” *یازم مازدا . یازم مازدا . یازم مازدا . یازم مازدا . یازم مازدا .*
یازم مازدا . یازم مازدا . یازم مازدا . یازم مازدا . یازم مازدا .
یازم مازدا . یازم مازدا . یازم مازدا . یازم مازدا . یازم مازدا .
 (Y. LIII, 7.)

“When that Passion (*سودا*) which is inherently clinging with you, is annihilated.....then there will be the reward unto you for that great work (*viz.* Salvation).

You must first overcome the element of “Druj” that subsists in you ; by so doing you prepare the way for the development of Vohu Mano, and so on, upto the realisation of salvation.

From all the above statement, it is clear, that, in the Avestan teaching as regards the means of salvation, there is nothing of the sentimentality that attaches to such things as “loving-kindness,” and “Church ordinance,” which two, says Lodge, constitute the means of salvation according to two of the four Christian Gospels. Indeed, as regards “vicarious sacrifice” and “human effort” (which the remaining two Gospels inculcate), much can be said in favour of these from the Avestan standpoint ; since, vicarious sacrifice (if understood generally, and not particularly in the case of Christ) and human effort are

included in the category of actions (*یاد*) to which

(*viz.* actions), the Avestan writings, specially the Gathas, attach such a prominent importance, while speaking of the progress and salvation of mankind. Vicarious sacrifice, the sacrifice of one's self for the sake of others, is a proof of the intensity by which a man “seeks not his own ends, but the ends of the Guiding Spirit of all things,” as Lodge puts it. (p. 102, para 2nd).

by Lodge, and the Zoroastrian creed. As regards belief in the Creator, in the Grace of God, in Salvation, and in the efficacy of prayer, there is not the slightest difference ; the only difference consisting in the fact that the means of salvation as taught by Zarathushtra lies in the Manthras, taken in conjunction with Vohu Mano, Asha and Armaiti, and not in such things as Church-ordinance, and loving kindness as said at least in two of the Christian Gospels ; and also in the fact that the votaries of two faiths have a belief in Zoroaster and Christ as prophets respectively, exclusively of the other.

XVI.

(The subject-matter of this Clause relating to "The Life Eternal," has been treated by us from the Avesta standpoint in the 12th Clause, on the subjects of Salvation and Regeneration ; and other minor points at other places).

XVII.

THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS.

"Just as human beings on this earth are bound by "the faculties of language, sympathy, and mutual aid," so we may imagine a class of beings *elsewhere* who are higher and holier than ourselves, whose communion, therefore, is of a higher sort, and who play the part of agents intermediate between man and God."

(L. pp. 112-115).

Lodge's statements here are as hypothetical as those on "Cosmic Intelligence" in the 10th Clause, where he speaks of the possibility of the existence of innumerable worlds inhabited by beings far higher than the human beings on this earth. A reading of all the Avesta writings will convince the reader of the fact, that there are no beings higher than man on earth, spoken of as acting the part of "intermediaries and agents" between man and God. The speakers in the Gathas address their speeches, whenever they do so, direct to Ahura Mazda, without referring themselves to any agency between God and man. "Intermediaries and Agents" indeed there are, but these are only those very men called the prophets and "Saoshyants," who

teach unto mankind the things they knew by Revelation. These agents live here on this very earth; they are called agents, inasmuch as they communicate the great truths of God unto ordinary humanity, who would not have been enlightened in very many respects without these prophets and "Saoshyants." But between these, who are the greatest among humanity, and God, no intermediate agents are believed to exist. Even in some of the later Avestan writings, where we get a description of those who are called Yazatas, we have not the slightest trace of the same idea, since some of these Yazatas are only personifications of abstract ideas and qualities, while others are personifications of the external phenomena of nature; they are certainly not "Saints" at least in the sense in which Lodge uses the word in his phrase "the Communion of Saints." We can very properly apply the term 'Saint' to those great men on earth who have greatly benefited the real progress of humanity, and this verily is the meaning of the Avesta word 'Saoshyant.' These Saoshyants, however, are only human beings on this earth. It may probably be in their power to "communicate" among themselves by such a process as telepathy (which point is referred to by Lodge), but such aspects of the matter are not to be found dealt with in the extant Avestan literature.

XVIII.

MYSTIC COMMUNION OR PRAYER.

"Prayer is the power of filial communion into which we are brought with our Heavenly Father, when our spirits are attuned to the Spirit of Righteousness. Through prayer we admit our dependence on a higher power for all the things that we possess. By prayer we beg for an insight into truth, for help in the work of life, and for ability to follow truth. For realising these, however, there is needed on our part an application of efforts towards the fulfilment of our petitions. The highest type of prayers has for its object the amendment of our wills, the elevation of all humanity, and the coming of the kingdom."

(L. pp. 116-118).

Prayer may be divided into two parts: (1) that which is offered with entreaty with a view to realise something for one's self; (2) that which we may call affirmative, attributing to the Godhead all the highest and best qualities, which is only with a view to appreciate those qualities and not to beg something

" I beg for fortitude and endurance so as to keep steadfast to Asha ; this, then, do thou give unto me, O Armaiti ! and also the good rewards that appertain to the life of Vohu Mano."

“.....”
 “.....”
 (Y. XLIII, 13.) “.....”

"In order that I may fulfil the object of my desire, do Thou give unto me that portion of long life which no one has secured from Thee upto now."

"...
...
...
...
(Y. L. 7.) ..."

“I shall join with Thee the strong, lovable, paths of Thy adoration through Asha and Vohu Mano, *by means of which (paths) do Thou come (here), and be Thou unto me for help.*”

[illegible]

“Thou who didst make waters and vegetation, and Haurvatat and Ameretat, *do Thou give unto me fortitude and endurance and the teachings of Reason, O Thou Most Progress-Producing Mazda!*”

"O thou strong one! do thou give unto us the boon that we desire of thee, viz., wealth, courage, victory, good living, lawful living, good fame, wisdom, intelligence, knowledge, victory created by Ahura, the all overcoming supremacy that pertains to Asha Vahishta, and the discussion as regards Manthra Spenta."

No religion can truly deserve that appellation, which eliminates from it the great element of prayer, which, as Lodge says, "brings us into communion with our Heavenly Father." It is through prayer, and "the application of our efforts" to it that we hope for our betterment, and without this hope the struggle in the world would be deprived of the one great solace that is associated with it.

XX.

THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN.

"The Kingdom of Heaven represents a harmonious condition in which the Divine Will is perfectly obeyed; it signifies the highest state of existence, both individual and social, which we can conceive. It is the ideal state of society towards which reformers are striving. When realised, it will conduce to universal love and brotherhood. This kingdom of Heaven is to be a present Kingdom, here and now, not relegated indefinitely to the future, because the Will of God is to be done on earth. Where perfect love and willing service exist, there already is the Kingdom.

(Lodge pp. 122-126).

The Kingdom of Heaven is a concept which, while it cannot be said to be a peculiarly Christian concept, is certainly one of those to which was attached the highest importance by Christ and his followers. This phrase has been understood in more than one way. Lodge's interpretation of it seems to be nearer the mark than any that we have heard of upto now; and it is on the basis of this interpretation that we have here attempted to discuss whether there is any idea in the Avestan religion similar to what is called the Kingdom of Heaven. Is there, then, anything in the Avestan writings spoken of in connection with "the ideal state of society," or in connection with "the highest state of existence, both individual and social?"

—as such are the definitions of the phrase “ Kingdom of Heaven ” given by Lodge (p. 122) ? The one Avestan term that is certainly

most connected with this subject is *𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀*. We know

what great importance is attached in the Gathas to the idea expressed by this term, just as we have seen before the importance of Vohu Mano, Asha and Armaiti. Every student of the Gathas knows what strong connection subsists between Vohu Mano, Asha, Armaiti, *Khshathra*, Haurvatat, and Ameretat. Of these, *Khshathra* has been understood by some to mean a kingdom of emancipated souls, just in the sense in which the Christian ecclesiasts understand the phrase “ the Kingdom of Heaven.” Now it is possible that all the above terms, including *Khshathra*, may have a double meaning contained in them, one pertaining to this material life, the other to the world of spirit. It is the object of this exposition, however, to show that the idea implied in the term *Khshathra*, if understood after an examination of all those Gathic passages where it occurs, is exactly the idea expressed by Lodge in the phrases (1) ‘ the ideal state of society towards which reformers are striving ’ (2) ‘ a harmonious condition in which the Divine Will is perfectly obeyed,’ and (3) ‘ the highest state of existence, both individual and social.’ It is, moreover, the object of this exposition to prove that this *Khshathra* is the *Khshathra* of this earth, that, in the words of Lodge, “ the Will of God is to be done on earth,” that “ the kingdom of Heaven is to be a present kingdom.”

(1) First, the fact that *Khshathra* represents some ideal state, which is a thing greatly desired for, is testified to by the word

𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀, which is almost invariably associated with

𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀 as its epithet. “ *𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀* ”

literally means ‘ the ideal kingdom,’ or ‘ the wished-for Kingdom.’

(2) Secondly the fact that this kingdom is a kingdom spoken of in connection with this earth will be seen from the following passages, which point to two things: (a) that the morality, accompanied with a sense of responsibility and Duty, of the people in general, is furthered by the establishment of *Khshathra*; and (2) that the care and protection of the common people is one of the best results that are realised when *Khshathra* is established. Some will think that these two conditions do not justify that kingdom being styled “ The Kingdom of Heaven.”

If it is so, how should we explain such phrases as 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌 or 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 or 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 or 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 (which all mean 'Thy (i.e., God's) Kingdom') when they sometimes occur in the passages where the above two, or one of the two, conditions, also occur? The conclusion we arrive at from this, is that the Gathas sometimes (not always) speak of that kingdom on earth as a kingdom of God, in which the above two conditions are fulfilled. Here are the passages:—

𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌
𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌
𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌
(Y. XLVIII, 11.)

"When, O Mazda! will Armaiti come in conjunction with (or by means of) Asha and Khshathra? when will the industrious happy-living be realised? Who will remove the oppression that proceeds from the wicked oppressors?" The context here will show that it is in order to remove the disorderliness and oppression and strife of wicked men, that Khshathra is sought to be established, because without the establishment of Khshathra, there will be no Armaiti, in other words, without an established government, the morality of people in general and therefore their sense of Duty will not increase; it is this 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 which is here spoken of as the cause of

𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 (𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌).

All this makes it quite clear that even the Khshathra of the Gathas does not mean a kingdom that is aloof from this material world, that the term 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 opposes the application of the term 'Khshathra' to the Spiritual Kingdom,

such a long life as can only be experienced in an ideal existence." Again,—

” واپه. ځای. توین پات (Thy Kingdom) وسه. دن نه دنه. نه وودنه. نه پات سندن.
 نه کوینه. نه پات نه. واسه. نه پات نه. واسه. نه پات نه.
 نه پات نه. واسه. نه پات نه. واسه. نه پات نه. (Y. XXXIV, 5)

“Of what (sort) is *Thy Kingdom*? What is Thy wish? (Tell this unto me) O Mazda: so that I may maintain Thy Poor by means of actions done through Asha and Vohu Mano.”

In this passage, again, we are informed of a condition of things that goes on when God's Kingdom exists on earth,—it is the protection and nourishment of the holy poor people. How can this idea of nourishing the holy poor have any reference to the Spiritual Kingdom? The same idea is again to be met with in Y. LIII, 9, where, too, we find the words

توین پات (Thy Kingdom):

”..... وځ. نه پات نه. نه پات نه. نه پات نه.
 نه پات نه. نه پات نه. نه پات نه. نه پات نه.
 نه پات نه. نه پات نه. نه پات نه. نه پات نه.
 (Y. LIII, 9.)

“Where is the holy King who will destroy the independence and the life of those (wicked men)? That (Kingdom) is *Thy Kingdom*, O Mazda! wherein a good living is secured to the poor men who live a righteous life.” Here, then, we see that a Kingdom or a state, in which special care is taken of the holy poor common people, is said to be a Kingdom that is established according to the Will of God. This last line of Y. LIII, reminds

prevall together. The above Gathic passages are some of the choicest ones in connection with the subject of Khshathra. We have cited these exclusively from the Gathas, since it is the word 'Khshathra' occurring in the Gathas that is understood by some to mean 'Spiritual Kingdom.' We repeat what we said at the beginning that it is possible for all the terms from Vohu Mano, &c. &c. to Ameretat to have a double meaning: but at least as regards the above-quoted passages with reference to Khshathra, we are strongly convinced that the meaning here has reference only to this material life, and not to the Kingdom of Spirit. No subject that is dealt with in Lodge's "Substance of Faith" is more in harmony with the teaching of the Avestan religion than this regarding 'the Kingdom of Heaven,' as he has interpreted that phrase. He calls the Kingdom of Heaven as "the central feature of practical Christianity." But his exposition on this subject may very properly be looked upon as an unconscious exposition of the term 'Khshathra,' occurring in the Gathas. The greatly practical character of the Avestan religion has found one more corroboration in the idea thus expressed in the term 'Khshathra.'

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF ZOROASTRIANISM.*

BY DR. IRACH J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A., PH.D.

LECTURE I.

THE PLACE OF IRAN IN ASIATIC CULTURE.

Asia has always been one cultural unit and as such she has dominated the world since the dawn of history. It is a notable fact that every great religion believed in the world to-day, and believed in the world during the past seven or eight millenia, has had its birth and its first development in Asia. And in no case has any form of religious belief escaped coming under the magic influence of Asia. All through these ages Asia has been searching for "the UNIVERSAL and ULTIMATE," which lies at the back of all manifestation, as distinguished from "the Personal" and "the Particular". This search for the ULTIMATE forms the keynote of all Asiatic history and is the only means by which we may grasp the varied cultural and philosophic manifestations of the human race shown on this continent.

The cultural history of Asia may be considered under three broad types. These types may be called (taking them in order from East to West) 1. the Chinese; 2. the Aryan and 3. the Semitic.¹ Each of these has shown certain dominant characteristics and each has been influenced by the other two as well as by cultures outside Asia. These mutual influences have worked in a very complex manner and their results have been far-reaching. It has been only recently that scholars have begun to realise that each of these types of culture has not grown and developed separately and independently, but that they have always had the most intimate contact with each other.

* This paper forms the general subject of a series of five lectures, delivered by Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph. D., as the Government of Bombay Research Lecturer of the Institute for 1927. The lectures were delivered at the Institute premises on the 5th, 8th, 12th, 15th and 16th December 1927.

¹ I do *not* make here any ethnological or similar implications about race-types and so forth.

Of these three, Aryan culture occupies the central position. Geographically it includes the lands of India and Iran. In the early days it extended much further in all directions. In the north it extended upto, and perhaps included within itself, the basins of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, while in the south it was always limited by the ocean. Eastwards it extended roughly upto the mountain ranges that constitute the province of Ferghana and thence the eastern limit is continued through the Pamirs and along the Himalayas upto the forest-clad hills that form the western boundary of the valley of the Irrawady. In the West, Aryan culture was certainly dominant upto Mesopotamia, but during many centuries it extended much further through Asia Minor right upto the shores of the Mediterranean. And from India it had extended at one time right across the Bay of Bengal into Burma and even in the far-off islands of the Malay Archipelago, while northwards it extended through Tibet right upto the borders of Gobi and the Siberian steppes. Roughly speaking, all to the east and north of Aryan culture may be called the region of Chinese culture while everything to the west and extending through Egypt² right into the heart of Africa may be called Semitic.

In the Aryan zone we find early two clear subdivisions, the Indian and the Iranian, of which the former has retained even to-day the ancient Aryan type of thought to a great extent, whereas the latter has been profoundly influenced throughout by the Semitic type. It would seem that at some very early and prehistoric period of Asiatic history the Aryans drove in like a wedge from the north into Southern Asia. Before their advent the middle position between the Chinese and the Semites was occupied by races that were probably allied to the Dravidians and who had also cultural affinities with the prehistoric races of the Mediterranean basin.³ The Indo-Aryans mixed completely with the aboriginal Dravidian element in India and, though it cost many generations of fierce fighting, in the end the two merged into one people with one culture and one sacred tongue. The sister people, the Irano-Aryans, came under the influence of the Semites as well as that of the

² Ancient Egyptian has now been definitely classified as a Semitic language.

³ Certain scholars see linguistic (as well as palaeographic) affinities between Cretan, Shumerian and Dravidian cultures. The recent discoveries at Mohenjo-Daro may probably unlock their secrets if Dravidian scholars apply their knowledge to the deciphering of these inscriptions, of course with the help of Shumerian scholars.

earlier aboriginal races of Iran, such as the Elamites and others. Unfortunately for us we have as yet had scarcely any idea of what the pre-Aryan civilisations in Iran were like. Some archæological work has been done at Susa and several other sites, but a systematic archæological survey of the whole of Iran—especially of Eastern Iran—has yet to be undertaken.

Each of these three main streams of Asiatic culture has had specific characteristics of its own as also the two sub-divisions of the Aryans. Beginning as one homogeneous type with very distinct and clearly marked characteristics these two types of culture—the Indian and the Iranian—have diverged in the course of their history to a considerable extent. But still their fundamental unity has always remained prominent. It was not without reason that the Parsis sought and found refuge in India when their ancient empire was lost.

If we look at the geographical position of these two branches of the Aryans⁴ some time about four or five thousand years ago,⁵ we shall find the reasons for their subsequent divergence. We find at that time the united Aryans (Indo-Iranians) in the region now known as the Pamir Highlands and spreading outwards in three directions—east, south and west. Of course the topography as well as the climate of that region must have been markedly different in those days from what they are now. We know, for instance, that the course of the Oxus was widely different, and that the Caspian Sea was a much more extensive body of water and that the Sea of Aral, too, occupied a wider area; indeed, some are of opinion that the two seas were one huge sheet of water about the period we are considering or perhaps very shortly before it. All this would mean that very extensive changes of climate have occurred in that region since that period,⁶ and that consequently the vegetation, the rainfall and the capacity of the land for supporting large populations have also varied considerably. The movements of large bodies of men like these ancient Aryans have been regulated by causes

⁴ Here again I mean merely people who have inherited a common cultural heritage.

⁵ I provisionally accept the dates given by certain Oriental scholars for the first Aryan incursions into India. But I must confess that I have personally great mistrust for all such dates. A much better way would be to speak of *successive periods of culture* without venturing to fix the exact millennium B.C.

⁶ Sykes in his *History of Persia* (2nd ed.), Vol. I, pp. 11 ff., has some extremely interesting observations to make on this point.

of various nature, which have not yet been clearly understood, but one of these assuredly is a change of climate.⁷ In the present case the shrinkage of the Caspian and of the Sea of Aral and the consequent growing aridity of the surrounding regions formed an important reason for the onward march of the Aryans.

As to why the Aryans split up into two branches we may consider later on.⁸ For the present we will accept the historical fact of their separation into two distinct nations. The Eastern or the Indian branch pushed on till they were stopped by the vast impenetrable forests to the east of Kâmarûpa (Assam) and by the shores of the ocean in the south and the east. By the time they had reached thus far they had succeeded in completely absorbing the Dravidians and becoming culturally one homogeneous people—the Hindu. On the east they had contact with Chinese culture, but the natural barriers in the shape of impenetrable forests and huge rivers has made this contact slighter than that in other directions.

The Western or Iranian branch had a comparatively smaller area to spread over, and they were stopped on the western edge of the Plateau of Fars by the great Semitic States which were then about to begin their history. We have recorded evidence to show that the Kassite dynasty of Babylon (circa B. C. 1925-1185) was of Aryan origin.⁹ And here the contact between the two races, unlike that in Eastern India, was very close and intimate, because there were no insurmountable barriers of nature on this side. Hence we see that Iranian culture came, from the very beginning of its history, into intimate contact with, and assimilated a considerable lot from other cultures, especially the Semitic, and that this influence is seen in every department of the life of Iran all through her history. As Jastrow has very ably put it, "It may be put down as an axiom

⁷ If we understand the 1st Fargard of the *Vendidad* as representing the lands that the Aryans colonised *successively* (as Tilak has suggested in his *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, p. 361) this reason seems to have weighed as an important one on more occasions than one.

⁸ See below Lecture II.

⁹ It may be perhaps nearer the truth to say that the Kassites were an obscure people whose origin is not known at present. Some of the names associated with the period of their domination (e.g., the name of their Sun-god, *Suryash*) clearly point to Aryan associations. The Aryans also introduced the horse into Babylon, and they entered Babylon from the East. This is testified by the Babylonian name of the animal which signifies "the ass from the East".

that nowhere does a high form of culture arise without the commingling of divers ethnic elements. Civilisation, like the spark emitted by the striking of steel on flint, is everywhere the result of stimulus evoked by the friction of one ethnic group upon another".¹⁰

The late Professor Browne of Cambridge, in one of his talks to his Persian class, said that the Persian was essentially an aristocrat at heart while the Arab was a democrat. The Professor might have with equal justice used the generic terms "Aryan" and "Semite" instead of "Persian" and "Arab". The essence of Aryan culture lay in their social organisation—in the proper gradation of society into "classes",¹¹ a sort of hierarchy in which each individual had his appointed place and in which each was expected to work out his share of the common weal. To the Aryan men were individually *essentially different* according to their position in life and in proportion to their abilities.¹² None was useless, for each filled up a useful place in the body politic. The Semites, on the other hand, regarded all men as *essentially equal*, and therefore they had no such well marked "classes of society" as the Aryans had developed. With the Aryan the watchword was *Duty* in whatever position the individual had been placed, with the Semite the watchword was *Brotherhood*.¹³

The Iranians, therefore, coming into contact with the Semites, added "brotherhood" to their ancient ideal of "duty", and thus developed certain national characteristics which marked them out through all their history. Then again the Semitic mind was scientific and precise while the Aryan mind was more philosophical and speculative. Thus, here we see why the Iranian has been noted all through for practical philanthropy, and on the whole he has shown himself more practical—if you like, more worldly—than his brother of India. All historians from Herodotus onwards have noted the sturdy commonsense of the Iranians, their vigour and their practicality; and these "worldly virtues" have been united to a mind deeply philosophical and capable of thinking out the deepest problems of human life.

¹⁰ Quoted in Donald A. Mackenzie's *Indian Myth and Legend*, p. v.

¹¹ I have purposely used this word in preference to "castes" because of the undesirable implications in the meaning of the latter.

¹² Cf. चतुर्वर्ण्ये मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागतः (*Bhagavad-Gītā*, iv, 13). Cf. also xviii 41.

¹³ These same two words might be used to describe the difference between the two great religions, Hinduism and Islam.

In the early days of the Aryanisation of Iran there must have been struggles and at the same time a steady process of fusing together the Aryans with the aborigines must have also been going on. There are, however, hardly any records preserved of these struggles, except the few traditions regarding the fights of the early Peshdâdi monarchs against the *divs*. Especially worth mentioning is the tale of Tehmurasp Divband, who conquered them and utilised their services in various useful arts they knew, and from whom the Iranians learnt the art of writing. Such tales clearly record the prehistoric struggles and the subsequent welding of two different cultures. We have similar traditions about the Aryans of India. Tilak has made another useful suggestion, worth examining in detail, that the sixteen lands mentioned in the first Fargard of the *Vendîdâd* may very possibly represent the route of the migration of the Iranian Aryans from their original Arctic Home.¹⁴ Thus considered some fresh light may be thrown upon the cultural struggles of the early Iranian Aryans.

One of the earliest people the Iranians encountered in the country were the Elamites, who had their capital at Susa. Their next contact was with Shumer and Akkad and later with Babylon. From these last the Aryans imbibed a vast amount of material culture and learnt a large number of useful arts. The *Shâhnâmeh* mentions among others the art of building, and the art of writing.

But the Persians were no slavish imitators. They assimilated and made their very own what they had adopted from the stranger, and impressed upon it the stamp of their genius. We see this quite clearly in the case of the adoption of the Semitic Cuneiform script of Babylon to the Aryan speech of Ancient Persia. Instead of an exceedingly complex system, where a sign may be phonetic, or may be a "key-word" or a determinative, or may be a conventionalised abbreviation of an original picture, we find a well-thought out, well-arranged and relatively simpler syllabary consisting of some 40 symbols. Here we have an excellent example of a sturdier race of conquerors being overcome in the "arts of peace" by the weaker, if more cultured, subject races.

The advent of Zarathushtra and the proclamation and acceptance of His message in Iran is a landmark in the history of the people. It was an event that changed utterly the trend and direction of Iranian History, and gave to the Iranian mind an individuality all its own. It meant

¹⁴ Tilak, loc. cit.

practically fixing once for all the essentially Aryan character and genius of the Iranian race. And this was no little service, for probably, at that period there was a real danger of the Aryan type being entirely swamped by the more advanced Semitic culture of Mesopotamia.¹⁵

The rise of the Median power is the first historical record (if we except the Kassites) of Aryan domination over the land we now call Iran. With its overthrow by Kurush the Great (Cyrus), begins the first great Aryan Empire of Iran. It was under the Achæmenians, however, that Iran became the living bridge between Asia and Europe. And it was during this period that Iran gave to the world an entirely new and wonderful ideal of Imperialism. "To leave the subject peoples their liberty, to tolerate their religion, to administer them in a spirit which identified their welfare with that of the whole Empire, was a policy at once skilful and moral, utterly unlike the cold cruelty of the Assyrian".¹⁶ And the closer union of the Aryan and the Semite (not to mention the other races of the Empire) under the strong personality of the Great King, led to a system and to an organisation of the vast Empire such had never before been known in the world. Both Kurush and Dârayavaush (Darius) were beyond doubt among the greatest figures in history,¹⁷ and they both had before them the grand ideal "of organising and unifying the world and giving it a reign not only of order, prosperity and peace—the Peace of the Great King—but of *Justice*."¹⁸ Here we see the fusion of the best that was in the Aryan with the best that was in the Semite. The Achæmenians left an indelible mark upon the history of the Ancient world and upon the Roman Empire, and the influence of its political organisation remained alive in the West as well as in the East for centuries after the battles of Issus and Arbela.

¹⁵ See Lecture II for further details.

¹⁶ Henri Berr in his "Foreword" to Huart's *Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilisation*, p. xiv.

¹⁷ Sykes speaks of them in his *History of Persia*, I (2nd ed.) in the highest terms; of Kurush he says that "Cyrus was indeed worthy of the title 'Great' we, too, may feel proud that the first great Aryan whose character is known in history should have displayed such splendid qualities" (p. 155); and of Dârayavaush he says, "the number of great kings who have ruled over Persia is not small; Darius is among the greatest of them all; indeed, he ranks very high among the greatest Aryans of history." (p. 194).

¹⁸ Huart, loc. cit.

With Alexander Greek culture invaded Persia and there was a temporary eclipse of the Aryan type. The immediate successors of Alexander were Greeks. But the Asiatic Parthians were also markedly Greek in their art as well as in their outlook and sympathies, at any rate in the beginning.¹⁹ The later Parthians, however, revived the Aryan Zoroastrian traditions again²⁰ and under the Sasanians Aryan culture became dominant once more and Iran once again becomes the leader of the world and frankly Zoroastrian.²¹ Of course by that time Iranian culture had no longer remained purely Aryan; for both Semitic and Greek cultures had left deep and lasting impressions upon it.²² During the Sasanian period Iran gave to the world not only a proof of her military greatness and of the perfect organisation of her vast resources, but she also dominated the world of thought and ruled over the morality of the world first through Mithraism and then through the "heresies" of Mani and Mazdak.

The next phase in the history of Iranian Culture is the Islamic conquest. The new faith was essentially Semitic, but under the vivifying touch of Iran the Islamic conquest of the world acquired a new meaning. The foundations of Islam are Semitic and Arabian, but most of the superstructure and most of the grandeur and beauty of that Faith is Aryan and Iranian. The deepest philosophy of Islam is but the Ancient Wisdom of Iran restated in the phraseology of the *Quran*. Here again we see the happy union of the Aryan and the Semite resulting in an uninterrupted stream of literature and philosophy which has yet shown no signs of shrinking.

And to-day also Iran stands unique in her position in Asia. After a period of political slack she has begun to rise once again. The first sign of this was given in the Gospel of the Bab and of His great disciple Beha-Ullah. And to-day Iran is quite awake and alert under her great ruler, Reza Shah. Indeed the whole of Asia is quickening with new life after a long period of comparative quiet. Once again all her three types of culture are

¹⁹ Their coins for a long period bore Greek legends. Many of these princes were famous as scholars of Greek and writers of no small ability in that language.

²⁰ Begun definitely under Valkhash (Vologeses) I., A. D. 51-77.

²¹ The aryanising tendency can be very clearly marked in the transitions through which the book-language of the period passed—from the almost purely Semitic Huzvaresh to the completely Aryan Pazend or Parsi.

²² We should not forget the contemporary Roman civilisation.

showing signs of a renaissance. All her people are feeling a new life surging through their veins. Iran is again desiring to acquire her rightful place among the great nations of the world.

Iran is thirsting to-day for a restatement of her ancient Gospel of Zarathushtra, which combined within it the twin (Aryo-Semitic) ideals of "Duty" and "Brotherhood". Iran is beginning to realise anew the value of the Message of her Greatest Son. She has invoked the help of us, Parsis, sole custodians of that Ancient Wisdom of Iran. Let us hope and pray that we rise to the full heights of her expectations and that we are granted by God the inestimable privilege of rendering this supreme service to the land of our Fathers.

LECTURE II.

INDO-IRANIAN RELIGION AND THE REFORM OF ZARATHUSHTRA.

Nowadays scholars are inclining more and more to the belief that the earliest stratum in the Vedic hymns represents a period when the Indo-Aryans were living *outside* India. In other words these hymns indicate a period when the Indians and the Iranians were living together, or, at any rate, when the separation between them was not quite complete. We can, therefore, form a very good idea of the religion and culture of the Indo-Iranian period by the study of the most ancient portions of the *Veda*.

Of recent years many discoveries have led to a revision of the older views about the ancient homeland from which the Indo-European languages radiated.¹ The ancient theory of Max Müller and his school that this homeland was in the region of the Pamirs is now universally given up.² My personal opinion is that different scholars have pointed to different regions as the original home according to the language or

¹ I believe that linguistic affinities bind mankind far more closely than mere ethnic resemblances. Hence I think that linguistic divisions of mankind deserve far more attention than they have hitherto received. Many an obscure problem of ancient history becomes clear by bearing this factor in mind. Also to-day in India we see a clear demand for "linguistic provinces".

² This was very ably supported and explained by W. Geiger in his famous *Ostiranische Kultur*.

languages on which they have principally relied.³ Every branch of the Indo-European people (i.e., those who spoke Indo-European languages) possess traditions which point far to the north as their original home. But the Iranian people are practically the only branch who have expressly mentioned and unequivocally described that locality in the second Fargard of the *Vendidad*. The description tallies with that given of the "abode of the Gods" in the Hindu *Purāṇas*, and it seems strange that no scholar except Tilak has drawn the obvious conclusions therefrom.⁴

Wherever the "cradle-land" of the Indo-Europeans may have been, we can be quite certain from all available evidence that the Aryans (i.e., the Indo-Iranians) remained together for many generations—probably many centuries—after the other branches had gone away westwards and southwards. This led to the development of a certain distinct type, which may be called the Aryan type, and this type is to be marked out mainly by their mental and spiritual outlook upon things in general, and upon human society in particular. In short, the Aryans developed an ideal of life, which may be called the Aryan ideal and which we shall consider presently.

As we have already seen above⁵ we can never hope to lay down any definite date for these migrations but we may roughly indicate three successive periods: (1) the Indo-European, which goes back into such hoary antiquity that we have no document possible of that age, but only a vague tradition of common gods and of a homeland far to the north; (2) the Aryan or Indo-Iranian period during which the undivided Aryan race lived together and evolved its special forms of religion and its special ideals of life; and (3) the period of separation of the two races the Iranian and the Indian. It must be clearly understood, however, that these periods overlap each

³ I have tried to give resumé of the more important of these theories in a Gujarati article entitled ગુજરાતી જન-મૂળ (જન), published in the monthly *Gujarāt* (Bhādra, Samvat 1929).

⁴ The one great reason for missing the obvious conclusion seems to have been the fact that scholars identified the names of cities and countries mentioned in the *Vendidad* tradition with those existing in modern Iran. We must not forget that people emigrating to another land carry with them the names of the old localities they have left behind and rename their new settlements after the old ones. One excellent example of this is (for us Parsis) the name *Sanjān*, an Iranian name with all its ancient memories of Iran. We also find London and York, Cambridge and Oxford wherever the English people have colonised.

⁵ See Lecture I.

other considerably, because obviously we cannot say that all the migrations took place in, as it were, one single wave. We have linguistic evidence, for example, to prove that the Balto-Slavic people as well as the Armenians remained together with the Aryans for a considerable period after the others had left. So also the separation of the Indians and the Iranians took place not in one move but gradually. Thus we get certain tribes completely Indianised and certain tribes completely Iranised living contemporaneously with tribes that were still Aryan. The problem is extremely complicated by reason of its distance in time as well as owing to the extreme paucity of the evidence available.

As to the causes of the separation, the older view among scholars seems to have been that Zoroaster's reform was not relished by a certain section and hence there arose some kind of religious strife between the two. I am rather inclined to believe that other causes had already been operating and that the separation had already begun and Zoroaster's advent merely gave a decided and clear lead to the Iranian section and thus made the separation complete.⁶ We may be justified in putting down Zoroaster's date as somewhere after the earlier hymns of the *Veda* had been composed. As to whether there are actual allusions to Zarathushtra and to His great disciple Vishtâspa (identified by Mr. S. K. Hodivala with *Ištâśva* of *RV.* i. 122, 13),⁷ I would at present leave the question open. There is nothing inherently impossible in this suggestion and Vedic scholars⁸ may one day give us more definite views upon this point.

Another difficulty with regard to the fixing of the date of the Prophet of Iran, is the very remarkable fact that there is no mention whatever of Him in any contemporary documents. Scholars have been content to accept the traditional date given by Pahlavi writers. It is well known that Firdawsî in his *Shâhnâmeh*⁹ has based his narrative almost entirely upon Pahlavi tradition. And if we count backwards from Sikandar

⁶ I disagree with those scholars who see a mere gradual semantic change (i.e. a change of signification) in this mutual inversion of divinities between the Indians and the Iranians. These inversions are too fundamental to have been caused by a mere semantic change.

⁷ *Indo-Iranian Religion*, pp. 41-42.

⁸ If we except the *Rgveda* reference mentioned just above.

⁹ It would be exceedingly interesting to hunt out reference to Zoroaster in the other *Nâmehs* and to see whether they agree in all details.

Rûmî (Alexander the Great) according to the list of the *Shâhnâmeh* upto Gushtâsp, son of Lohrâsp, we would get the generally accepted date. Egypt and Babylon were the leading civilised nations before recorded Iranian history begins, and surely such an event as the advent of a Prophet among a neighbouring people and the rapid growth of His religion would have been recorded by their assiduous chroniclers. Even Herodotus, who collects all manner of possible and impossible information, is silent on this point and does not even mention His name. Still more wonderful is the utter absence of His name in the numerous Achæmenian inscriptions. It is unthinkable that Darius should have failed to mention anywhere¹⁰ the great Prophet who had appeared at the court of his own father. The only conclusion we are warranted in drawing is that Hystaspes, the father of Darius, was certainly not Vishtâspa of the Pahlavi tradition.¹¹

Historical records of the Achæmenian age and of the age of the Successors of Alexander as well as of the Parthian times have clearly shown how unreliable Pahlavi sources are with respect to ancient Iranian history. They have mixed up the last rulers of the mythical (and prehistoric) Kayânian dynasty with the later Achæmenians, and even there except for the last name or two there is hardly any agreement with the contemporary inscriptions. Moreover the Pahlavi tradition has entirely forgotten the Parthians, a few of the names of the Parthian monarchs appear as the names of the Pahlawâns¹² (knights) of the Kayânî court. The reason for this utter confusion of tradition may be sought in two directions: (i) the almost complete destruction of the ancient libraries and chronicles after the burning of Persepolis, and (ii) the ultra strong Zoroastrian predilections of the Pahlavi writers. The first led them to lose completely the thread of history and the second led them to ignore completely the non-Zoroastrian monarchs of Iran.

My own personal view is that Zoroaster should be put several (probably many) centuries before the traditional date. If we accept the date of the Vedas, given independently of each

¹⁰ His inscriptions are the most numerous as well as the most lengthy, and deal with the earlier history of his reign in great detail.

¹¹ Herodotus gives in detail a variety of anecdotes about Darius as well as other rulers and yet he has not even mentioned the Prophet. Surely only one conclusion is possible.

¹² The very name *Pahlawân* is derivable from *Pârthava* (Parthian).

other by Jacobi and by Tilak, I think that would suit our hypothesis better. For I have already pointed out that Zarathushtra should be put sometime after the composing of the earliest hymns of the *Veda*.¹³ Linguistically, too, the *Gāthās* must date sometime before the later hymns of the *Rgveda*.

As every great teacher has done, Zarathushtra, too, built upon the inheritance of the past. So he based his religion upon the ancient Aryan beliefs of the people. It is not at all necessary here to give any details about that religion. It has been thoroughly dealt with by Mr. S. K. Hodivala in this very Institute¹⁴, and I myself have also quite recently written about it.¹⁵ But we must try to see what purpose was served by the advent of the Prophet.

The Pahlavi tradition, though unreliable as to dates, is still very fairly acceptable as to the chief events of the Prophet's life and as to the state of society at that time. Putting it in modern phraseology we find that the land was torn by internal strife, that each petty ruler and each petty province was trying to get on at the expense of its neighbours. Religion, too, under such conditions of self-seeking, of greed and of mutual jealousies, was as good as forgotten.¹⁶ At best each ruler worshipped his own particular local divinity and despised the rest, thus, as it were, setting the very gods at variance with each other.¹⁷ In this state of utter discord in both the spiritual

¹³ Incidentally it would also explain why there is no mention of Zoroaster in the Babylonian documents. For this date would put him very near the beginning of Babylonian history. Egypt was also at that time young and too far removed from Bactria to have even heard of Him. When both these lands came in contact with the Aryans, the Babylonians soon after the time of Hammurabi, the Prophet was already an ancient memory.

¹⁴ Government Research Fellowship Lectures delivered in 1923. Their subject was *Indo-Iranian Religion*.

¹⁵ *The Religion of Zarathushtra*, 1927. This matter has been dealt with in Chapter I.

¹⁶ This is also the sort of sense one would gather from the complaint of *Geush Urván* in *Yas.* xxix.

¹⁷ It is exceedingly interesting to see in the legends of the conflicts of the gods a reflection of the conflicts of cities and rulers upon earth. The earlier struggles of the cities of Mesopotamia and the ultimate victory of Babylon are clearly reflected in the legends of their gods and in the attainment of supreme sovereignty by Merodach, the god of Babylon. May not the earlier Hindu legends about the fighting between the *Devas* and the *Asuras* (note that they are *not* called *Rākṣasas*) be also a reflection of Indo-Iranian differences?

and the material worlds, a leader of towering intellect and high spirituality was needed in order to set matters right. And such a leader was discovered in Zarathushtra, as our Pahlavi traditions tell us, as may also be inferred from the highly poetical account given at the beginning of the first *Gāthā*.¹⁸ Zarathushtra's great reform was based upon four fundamental principles : (i) the absolute supremacy of Ahura-Mazda, (ii) the foundation of all spiritual (and even material) progress upon Asha, (iii) the eternal conflict between Good and Evil, and (iv) the obtaining of salvation through work and through service of humanity. The *Gāthās* (especially *Gāthā Ahunavaiti*) constitute our best authority on these fundamentals of Zoroastrianism. There are other matters as well dealt with by Zoroaster but they are of secondary importance.

(i) *The absolute supremacy of Ahura-Mazda.* Among the Indo-Iranians there had always existed an idea that beyond all the manifested universe and the manifold powers of Nature, whom they all worshipped, there was One Supreme Eternal Being, who was the Lord, the Creator and the Father of all. We read in the *Rgveda* in one famous passage (i. 164, 46) :

एकं सदिप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति आग्ने यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ।

“The Truth (is) one, the Wise in many ways do speak of it ; they call it Agni, (or) Yama, (or) Mātariśvan”.

This One Truth (*ekam sat*) was the repository of all that was good, of all that was moral and uplifting. This was the Ultimate Cause as well as the Goal of all Evolution. It is, indeed true that this was not the *popular* belief among the Aryans, but there can be no manner of doubt that such was the belief of the great Sages who composed and chanted the Vedic hymns. Each divinity was looked upon by them as but a manifestation of this Supreme Being, as but a phase of the manifold all-embracing activities of the Eternal God. And though in each individual hymn of the Vedas (as also of other sacred texts) the Power invoked was spoken of in superlatives,¹⁹ still there was always in the background the steady idea that there was a Being higher and greater than any of these.

Among the Aryan deities was one who, in the earliest records we possess, was regarded as the Supreme God—almost an equal

¹⁸ *Hā* xxix. That chapter was originally the first chapter of the *Ahunavaiti Gāthā*, while *Hā* xxviii was the second.

¹⁹ This is known as *henotheism*.

of the Great Creator Himself, This was Varuna, who physically represented the sky and who has been often addressed as अमरः पिता न, (the Lord of Life, our Father). The fundamental moral concept of Asura Varuna²⁰ was as the Lord of Righteousness, of Divine Law, of Purity. (*asha, rta*). He was above all others the Lord of Righteousness (*ashahe ratu, rtasya pati*) and He represented the highest ethical ideal of the Aryans.

In course of time, as has happened to every nation, the narrow-minded selfishness of human beings led to a quarrel between the votaries of these various "subordinate gods", and the followers of first one and then of another began to bid for supremacy. We can trace such a struggle even in the *Veda* between Varuna and Indra; and we know that in later ages Varuna retired into the background and Indra became the King of Heaven. Rescuing the people from such a conflict of ideas was the principal task to which Zarathushtra addressed Himself. He had come to lead people back into the path from which they had strayed, and to remind them once again of the Supreme Being whom they had well nigh forgotten. So He took the greatest ideal the ancient Aryan pantheon had to offer—that of Asura Varuna—and declared Him—AHURA—to be the Supreme Lord of the World and of Iran. Henceforth Ahura was to be the greatest of all. He was no longer Varuna the Sky-god, but one aspect of the Supreme, although grand beyond all human conceiving, but He was the Supreme, the Father of the Universe. So great was the force of the Teacher that ever since His time His followers have clung to this one fundamental teaching in His message. They have always adored Ahura; and even though in outward seeming they have honoured other deities, still the idea of Ahura being the Supreme God has remained fundamental in every hymn and in every ceremonial. Every prayer and hymn begins with the name of Ahura—*ṣānaoθra ahurahe mazdāo*, "propitiation unto Ahura-Mazda".

²⁰ Of course *asura* is here used in the original sense of "the Lord of Life". The word is derived from *asu* (life) and the suffix *-ra* (Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1226). Note that this word has been used throughout the earlier Vedic hymns in a good sense. The *Amarakośa* gives the word *pūrvadeva* (earlier god) as a synonym for *asura*, thus embodying this ancient tradition. The word *sura* in Sanskrit means "god", but it is a later derivative from *asura*, derived by "false analogy" and by "folk-etymology". No doubt the fancied connection with *svar* (heaven) and *sūryā* (sun) helped to fix the new meaning.

The worship of this Supreme Being by Himself and in all His transcendent greatness could not be carried on for a long time without being degraded to some sort of anthropomorphism or idolatry. The average human mind is not capable of grasping such infinite vistas as are opened out by the contemplation of the One Eternal. So the Prophet in His wisdom pointed out six aspects of the Eternal as worthy of meditation and worship. We shall revert to this point in the next lecture, but it is here enough to point out that these six, though called the *Ameshâ-Spentâs* (the Holy Immortals), are themselves abstractions and as such are incapable of anthropomorphic treatment. So we find that although in later ages idolatry was practised in Iran, we never have any hint whatsoever of an anthropomorphic representation either of Ahura-Mazda or of His Holy Immortals.²¹ Their very concepts are incapable of being dragged down to the physical plane. They did suffer degradation, but never that extreme form of being represented in the human shape.

(ii) *The foundation of all spiritual progress upon Asha.* The idea of Asha (*Rta*) was a very ancient Aryan idea. It is among the most highly spiritual ideas that have been conceived by humanity. Scholars brought up along methods of modern anthropology may wonder how we could postulate that such a highly spiritual idea existed among the Aryans of those

²¹ I am well aware that European scholars have spoken of the image of Ahura Mazda at Behistun and elsewhere. But I am in this respect of opinion that these figures do not represent the Supreme. There is no warrant for such a belief in any of the Avesta texts. Aredvi-sûra Anâhita had had her images as testified by Greek writers, and they are supported by the elaborate description given of her physical appearance and dress in the *Abdn Yasht* (Yt. v.7,64, 78 and 126-129). Similarly the elaborate descriptions of the physical appearance of Mithra and of Verethraghna also point to the existence of the images of these *Yazatas*. Some Parsi scholars are of opinion that the winged figure represents the *Fravashi* (of the monarch over whom it hovers?). May I venture the suggestion that this winged figure represents the *Kavaēm.Xvareno* or the Royal Glory of ancient Iran. The wings may have been merely a conventional development from the rays coming out of a disc (like the winged disc of *Râ* in Egypt). The human figure in the centre of the disc is copied from the figures of Asshur on Assyrian standards, where also it typified the might of Assyria (see next Lecture). Geldner in his essay on "Avesta Literature" in the *Avesta Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies in Honour of the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Peshotonji Behramji Sanjana, M.A., Ph.D.*, p. 60, speaks of an image of Vohu-Manô also. But I regard this as a rather far fetched idea.

early times.²² But we must never forget that there is a spiritual government of the world and that humanity has in all ages (even in the so-called "primitive times") produced great men far advanced in spirituality, who have shown to the people the right path. These men were not mere "medicine-men", wise magicians, soothsayers or even philosophers. They had dived into their inmost being, they had succeeded in finding what all humanity has been searching after ever since its creation. And when these Sages (the Iranians called them *Ratus* and the Indians called them *Rishis*)²³ spoke they spoke with a fullness of Wisdom and Spirituality that we ordinary mortals (even the most learned amongst us) can have no conception of. So when we tackle religious history we must beware of applying the methods of ordinary cultural history to it. Of course, what is called folk-religion is always on a much lower level, but when we deal with great Rishis of the past like Zarathushtra, we must regard Him to be far above ordinary humanity. So we find in the history of every great religion that it is at its most spiritual level in the days of its Founder. Religions never improve with the passage of time but rather degenerate into superstition under the influence of folk superstitions, and this is the reason why there have been Reformers and Prophets from age to age.²⁴ All such Great Sages always reiterate the same fundamental Truths. Only they clothe them in words suitable the people and the age they are addressing. Their one claim always has been that They come "not to destroy but to fulfil". And so Zoroaster came to fulfil the great Aryan ideal of *Asha (Rta)* and to emphasise it once again for the Iranian branch of the Aryans. *Asha* to Zarathushtra meant the WILL OF GOD, the Plan along which the whole world is evolving. Tennyson was truly divinely inspired when he wrote of

" That God who always lives and loves,
One God, one Law, one Element,
And one far-off divine Event,
To which the whole Creation moves ";

²² Similarly the late Prof. Mills at one place wondered how such lofty spirituality could be found at such an early date as in the Gāthās of Zarathushtra.

²³ I believe that both the words *ratu* and *r̥si* are cognate. See my paper on the subject in the *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, III, 2, pp. 143 ff.

²⁴ As very clearly enunciated in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (iv. 6). A great Prophet like Zarathushtra is in a very real sense an incarnation of the Divine.

and this is the Asha that Zarathushtra sought to teach to humanity. The prime duty of each man was to move along the path of Asha, for thus alone could he work out God's plan, and through this Asha could he one day hope "to be in constant companionship with Him".²⁵ The Path of Asha is the only path, all others are false paths.²⁶

(iii) *The eternal conflict between Good and Evil.* Treading the path of Asha implies fighting for Right and Truth, combating Wrong and Falsehood wherever they are to be found. This opposition, so obvious in our world, between Good and Evil has been accepted as inevitable by all Teachers of religion, but few have attempted to give a consistent explanation of it. Zoroaster was one of these few and certainly He was one of the earliest who in clear words gave this explanation. As a theory of the why and the wherefore of the Evil we observe around us it leaves very little room for dissatisfaction, provided we get at the very root of the Prophet's teaching. Later accretions and later limitations have sadly distorted the original teaching of the Master as contained in the *Gāthās*, and have given a clearly dualistic appearance to the faith of Old Iran. The teaching of Zarathushtra is emphatically *not dualistic in its essence*. He says in the *Gāthā Ahunavaiti* (*Yas.* xxx. 4) that in the beginning of things there were two Spirits created by Mazda,²⁷ who, in their turn, created, the one LIFE and the other NOT-LIFE.²⁸ This is the very essence of Zarathushtra's explanation. Life and Not-Life, Spirit and Matter, constitute the two worlds in which the Twin Spirits, created by Mazda, function. In other words, at the time of manifestation Divine Energy flows as it were through two channels, that of Spirit (Life) and that of Matter (Not-Life); and their interaction creates all the Universe that we see around us.²⁹ *But both are emanations of the Divine Energy.* With a limited outlook one may wonder how the Lord, who is the Essence of all

²⁵ . haməm ōwā haχma (Hoshbam, *Yas.* lx. 12).

²⁶ aēvō pantáo yō ashahc vispe anyaēshām apantām (Colophon to the *Yasna*.)

²⁷ The epithet "created by Mazda" (*Maddadātā*) is not found in the Gāthic text referred to here, but it is found elsewhere used of the Twin Spirits.

²⁸ at-cā hyat tá hēm Mainyū
jasātīm paourvīm,
dardē gaēm-cā azydītīm-cā. (*Yas.* xxx. 4.)

²⁹ Compare the doctrine of the Yoga Philosophy of India where the whole universe is declared to be created by the interaction of *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* who have been created by *Īśvara*.

Goodness, could create Evil at all. But a widening of spiritual experience and a broader spiritual outlook teaches us that what we name "Evil" is really speaking negative. The Master himself has used a negative term *a-iyâiti* (*Not-Life*) to describe the creation of evil.³⁰ And being negative it is relative only, affecting us in exact proportion that the good within us lies dormant. Hence the need of treading the Path of Asha, so that we may come out of the shadow of Evil into the full blaze of Good, where the Lights Eternal³¹ from the Throne of God Himself are shining.

(iv) *Obtaining salvation through work and through service of humanity.* A perfect man is one who has developed both his mind and his heart, and is at the same time actively fighting the battle of Asha, who, in other words, is engaged in doing good to the world. Ancient Sages have laid down three paths—rather three methods of treading the Path of Asha, which is the only path,—viz., that of Knowledge (*Jñāna-mārga*), that of Devotion (*Bhakti-mārga*), and that of Service or Active Work (*Karma-mārga*). All religions have in some way or other spoken of these three, but each religion has specially emphasised one of them. The Iranian nation being a nation of active workers and warriors it was the Path of Action that was the most congenial to them and hence the emphasis the Prophet laid upon that. Every Zoroastrian has to be active and helpful to others. To care for others and to share with others less fortunate, the blessings bestowed by God upon us such was the ideal Zarathushtra put before Ancient Iran. And even to-day, in spite of all the distortions that have come upon their religion, the Zoroastrians have been trying to practise this last ideal at least. That I believe is the secret of our being allowed to exist in the world at all. As long as we Parsis keep to this ideal given to us by Zarathushtra, we may be sure that Ahura-Mazda will not forsake us. For our holiest prayer, the *Yathâ-ahû-vairyo* has promised "the Strength of the Lord for (all) such as give succour to the poor".³²

³⁰ Hence I have preferred the negative rendering of this word to the positive one ("death" or "destruction") used by other translators. The idea of *Angro-Mainyu* in Zoroastrianism may be profitably compared with the idea of *Mephistopheles* given by the greatest genius of Europe, Goethe, in his last and greatest work, *Faust*.

³¹ The region of the *anayre raocão* mentioned in *Hād. Nask* (Yt. xxii. 15) and elsewhere.

³² This is the third and the last line of the prayer. The word "poor" is here to be understood in the widest sense possible, and should include those who are lacking in anything that we, through the grace of God, possess.

LECTURE III.

ELAM, BABYLON AND EGYPT.

As already hinted in the last lecture, Zoroaster in giving His message based it upon the ancient Aryan belief. Indeed, as we have seen, He revived and re-asserted the fundamental principles of the ancient Aryan Faith. But, it must be remembered, He was not at that period addressing the original homogeneous Aryan people, limited both in numbers as well as in the extent of their territory. He was addressing *all* the people of Iran. We may even go further and say that His message had a value for the whole of humanity and for all time. So it is not so surprising that He incorporated several important ideas from non-Aryan sources as well. A migratory and active people like the ancient Aryans could not be expected to remain long unmixed with or uninfluenced by other nations. In Iran they necessarily came into direct intimate contact with at least two great races of antiquity, the Turanian stock of the Elamites and the Semetic people of Babylon.¹ Besides these two there were certainly points of contact (though less intimate than those of the first two) with the Egyptians, the Hittites and various other nations as well.

A great deal of such influence is to be found in what might be termed "popular religion" and belief. With the Founder the matter stands on an entirely different plane. As far as the religion founded by Zoroaster is concerned we may say that we should look for foreign influences not so much in the actual preaching of Zarathushtra (as contained in the *Gāthās*) as in the later developments seen in what is called the "Younger Avesta". Because it was only when the purer aspects of the Prophet's teaching were beginning to be forgotten that the more "popular" beliefs and the older favourite deities of the "folk-religion" could again become prominent. So it is in the later Zoroastrianism that we must look for comparisons with the other religious systems of antiquity. It is certainly a hard task to disentangle what may be called the "basic Aryan element" from the extraneous elements derived from non-Aryan sources. Nor, in the absence of definite dates and of definite information regarding the migrations of different

¹ I have not here mentioned the Shumerians who had preceded the Babylonians, for the latter had derived all their culture and especially their religion from the former. Moreover the actual contact between the Aryans and the Babylonians began after the greatness of Shumer had passed away.

racés in that region, could we definitely say that a particular belief was borrowed by one religion from another. So all we may do in our present state of knowledge is to point out some of the outstanding resemblances between Zoroastrianism and some of these ancient religions. We shall here deal with three of them, (i) Elamite, (ii) Babylonian and (iii) Egyptian, because these were the three peoples with whom the Iranians had well authenticated contacts. We will only mention the various points from these religions and leave out the correspondences from Zoroastrianism which are well-known to all students of Zoroastrianism.

As regards the Hittites, our knowledge at present is not yet sufficiently well established to enable us to arrive at any definite conclusions. Of course it would be unthinkable that two great people could exist side by side without influencing each other very materially.

(i) *The religion of Elam.* Elam was the home of the earliest civilisation in the land now known to us as Persia. All ancient civilisations have tended to grow along river valleys. And this ancient culture of Elam grew along the valley of the Karun river. The remains found there date back to a period considerably earlier than B. C. 3000. In fact at that date we find a fairly settled type of culture in that region and the various cities holding active intercourse with the city states of Lagash and Ur in Mesopotamia. The name of the country, *Elam*, signifies "mountain" and refers to its chief characteristic. One of the districts of Elam which afterwards rose into prominence was Anzan or Anshan. This district became the supreme district of the land and the capital Susa was situated in it. This district was the homeland and the principality of the Achaemenians; and Kurush, in the beginning of his career calls himself "King of Anshan." In a tablet dated B. C. 549 he bears this title, whereas in B. C. 546 he is styled the "King of Persia".²

About the language of early Elam we have comparatively little information. There have been inscriptions found belonging to the Elamites, but they have not been very clearly deciphered. What little could be read shows us that Elamitic culture had been considerably influenced in the earlier days by Shumer and Akkad and by Babylon later on. The Elamites were looked down upon as rude mountaineers by the more civilised city dwellers of Mesopotamia.

² Sykes, *History of Persia* (2nd ed.), vol. I, p. 143.

About their religion we have very little information. It seems to have been profoundly influenced by that of Babylonia, with which land Elam had connections since prehistoric days. There are certain striking points about the religious system of the Elamites which show that the development of this religion follows almost exactly the lines along which Babylonian religion also developed. Each city had its own tutelary deity, and ultimately when the city of Susa in Anshan became supreme in all Elam, its god *In-Shushnak* (the Lord of Susa) became the supreme deity of Elam.³ *In-Shushnak* is referred to as dwelling in a forest sanctuary which was sacred and to which only the priests and the king were admitted. This deity possessed in many respects the characteristics of the Supreme Godhead, but there were other gods worshipped as well. In fact most of the other deities were the same as in Shumer and Babylon. Some of these subordinate deities were evidently personifications of abstract qualities;⁴ one of the most notable of these was the deity referred to as "the son of Shamash (the Sun),⁵ who was accompanied by two ministers, Kithu (Righteousness) and Misharu (Justice).⁶ This constitutes a remarkable anticipation of the "personified abstractions of Zoroastrian Theology".

Another remarkable point with regard to the religion of Elam is that the word for "god" was *nap*. And the word *nap* as written down is the character of "god" doubled. "Whether there is any signification in the fact that *nap* is the character of 'god' doubled is uncertain, but if admitted its fundamental principle would appear to be dualistic—probably male and female".⁷ I am personally inclined to accept this suggestion, and in that case, here, too, we may compare it with the so-called "dualism" of Zoroastrian theology.

³ Exactly like Bel-Merodach (Marduk) of Babylon, who from being the tutelary deity of a city became the supreme God of the Babylonian pantheon.

⁴ Cf. *daēd*, *cishti* etc. in the Avesta.

⁵ Shamash, the Sun-god of Babylon, first rose to prominence in the days of Hammurabi.

⁶ Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s. v. Elamites. I must also warn the readers against drawing any hasty conclusions from the apparent similarity of the names *Misharu* and *Mithra*. With the whole idea described here compare Râ, the Sun-god of Egypt, who was the "King of Right and Truth".

⁷ Hastings, loc. cit.

As regards the priesthood of Elam, it was, as in Babylon, "both powerful and wealthy, and although we have as yet but little information as to the details of Elamite culture and ritual, it is clear that in many features they bore a general resemblance to the Babylonian rites".⁸

The most significant and the most striking point of resemblance between Zoroastrianism and the religion of Elam was that "associated with Shushinak were six other deities of the first rank, grouped in two triads".⁹ The resemblance with Ahura-Mazda and His six Holy Immortals, "grouped in two triads"¹⁰ is too striking to be accidental. We know nothing of these beyond the names, but some scholars seem to regard one of these—Amman Kasibar—as equivalent to Memnon of the Greeks, perhaps to Vohu-Manô.¹¹

We have seen in the last lecture that Zoroaster allowed Ahura-Mazda to be worshipped also in His six aspects—the Holy Immortals—and we know that often we get mention in the Avesta of the *seven* Amesha-Spentas counting Ahura Himself as *primus inter pares*. Occultism speaks of the "seven divine rays", and as the Holy Immortals have been regarded as "personifications", it might be exceedingly interesting to work out the correspondences. We may also hope that further research may let us know something more about the six deities "of the first rank" associated with "the Lord of Susa".

(ii) *The Religion of Babylonia.* Under this head we have to include a large number of varied beliefs scattered through a considerable area and developing through many centuries. In the earliest days we find a large number of city states in the region of Mesopotamia each with its own particular deity. Gradually we find that among all the cities Babylon grows the greatest in power and absorbs the rest under its political supremacy. "From time immemorial politics had changed the government of heaven when changing that of earth".¹² So we find that corresponding to the rise of Babylon

⁸ Sykes, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Asha-Vahishta, Vohu-Manô and Xshaçra-Vairya form the "male" triad, while Spenta-Armaiti, Haurvatât and Ameretatât make up the "female" triad.

¹¹ This is a mere guess.

¹² Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, pp. 74-75.

the tutelary deity of that city—Bel-Merodach¹³—comes into supreme power. Originally he was the Sun-god, representing more especially the Sun in the spring season, which is associated with the renewal of life in nature. In a country like Mesopotamia, which depends for its life and fertility upon the great streams fed by the snows of the northern mountains, the spring season and the growing power of the sun were naturally associated with the life-giving floods of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Hence the Sun-god of Babylon became the Life-giver, and when Babylon grew to be the sovereign power, Merodach became the Lord of Heaven and the Sovereign of all the other gods. The worship of Merodach later on verged very close upon monotheism and, helped in later centuries by the Jewish idea of Jehovah, gave a clear monotheistic lead to all Semitic faiths.¹⁴ We are told that Kurush the Great when he conquered Babylon worshipped at the shrine of this great deity.¹⁵ There was certainly a political motive behind this, but we must not therefore conclude that Kurush was not true to the Mazda-yasnan faith of his fathers. The state of Babylonian theology at that period shows quite clearly that Bel-Merodach held a position very nearly identical with that of *baga vazarka Aura-mazda* whom the Great Conqueror worshipped.¹⁶

Among the sister-people of Assyria we find corresponding to Bel-Merodach the great god Asshur, who also was solar in his origin. The figure of Asshur stands out very clearly and prominently in their inscriptions; and, as befits a warrior

¹³ Bel (or Baal) means "Lord" or "Master." The female deities were called Baalat.

¹⁴ The Semites throughout all their dispersals and vicissitudes were always ready to keep up their ethnological and linguistic bonds and they clung very tenaciously to their beliefs and ritual. Hence we see a clear family resemblance between the various ideals developed among the Semites in various parts of Western Asia. The monotheism, so strongly emphasised by the Jews and later copied by Christianity and Islam, was doubtless represented in Babylon by the worship of Bel-Merodach.

¹⁵ In the "Cylinder of Cyrus" it is definitely stated that Merodach gave the rule over Babylon to "Cyrus, King of the city of Anshan." (Syles, op. cit., pp. 150 f.) Cf. also the account given in the Bible, *Isaiah*, xlv.

¹⁶ Exactly similarly among the Semites of Syria was developed the idea of the deity Baal-Shamin. He was named by the Romans *Jupiter Coelestis* and by the Greeks *Ζεὺς Οὐράνιος* (see Cumont, op. cit., pp. 127 f., also pp. 256 f., notes 69 and 70).

nation, Asshur is the Lord of Battles.¹⁷ The other gods were, as it were, mere attributes of Asshur. "We can understand the remaining Assyrian gods if we regard them as lesser Asshurs,¹⁸ so to speak, as broken lights of the great god of battle and conquest".¹⁹ His origin is clearly seen in his symbolic representation in Assyria. He was not symbolised by a statue or an idol, but was represented by a disc enclosed with two wings.²⁰ Above the disc or enclosed within it was often the figure of a warrior with a bent bow and arrow.²¹ The meaning of the name Asshur is the "gracious god" or the "good god".

Both Bel-Merodach and Asshur stand for the moral ethical principle of goodness fighting against evil; and both were, as we have seen, originally solar deities and as such typified the One Creator of all. In this respect they were as near as possible to the idea of Ahura-Mazda who was "the greatest of the gods".²² To the Aryan mind it was not at all difficult to perceive that the same Great Being was intended by the Semites when they spoke of Bel-Merodach or of Asshur, as they themselves did when they spoke of Ahura-Mazda. In later days we find the Zoroastrian clergy showing a very narrow type of dogmatism. This undoubtedly is the result of being in long contact with the Semitic priesthood of Babylon, both specially as well as intellectually. The Semite "has done so much to systematise religions, ancient and modern. The Semite cannot content himself with half-truths. It is essential to his very life that he must feel himself upon sure religious ground. He hates doubt and despises the doubter. At an

¹⁷ In Iran the tutelary deity of the Achæmenians and the Parthians was Mišra and that of the Sasanians was Verethraghna (Behrām), and they were both Lords of Battles.

¹⁸ Cf. the use of the word *ahurdaŋhō* (plu. of *ahura*) in the Avesta.

¹⁹ Lewis Spence, *The Myths of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 206.

²⁰ Like Rā of Egypt.

²¹ Spence, loc. cit., gives some very good illustrations. This is exactly what we have at Behistun and elsewhere. But in the Iranian sculptures the winged figure either holds a chaplet instead of the bow and arrow, or else has one hand raised in benediction. In the case of Asshur the figure very likely stood for the Assyrian people enclosed within the protecting embrace of their God. Similarly at Behistun and elsewhere in Iran the winged disc may have symbolised the Glory of the Lord and the figure within may have represented Iran. The whole may thus have symbolically represented the *Kavaēm Xvarenō* (the Royal Glory) of Iran. described in the *Zām Yasht*.

²² *mašīšta bagādm* (Inscription of Xerxes at Van).

early time in his ancient career he had so securely systematised religion as to supply the earliest instances of pure dogma. There followed the relentless abjuration of all the troublous circumstances of mistrust. A code founded upon the rock of unquestioning faith was instituted, and in the religious system of Babylonia and especially of Assyria we observe a portion of the process of evolution which assisted in the upbuilding of a narrow yet highly spiritualised system." ²³

This narrowness and this bigoted dogmatism we shall note in Zoroastrianism especially in the Sasanian days and with it a great many customs and beliefs which had obtained in Babylonia ages before its conquest by Kūrush the Great.

The doctrine of the Two Spirits preached by Zarathushtra was interpreted in *popular religion* as a species of dualism. The idea of evil being the creation of a great and good God is not exactly understandable by the average human mind; and it is therefore much easier to make the Evil Spirit responsible for all the ills we see around us and thus to make the Evil One a sort of Arch-Opponent of God. In every mythology there are conflicting hosts of gods and demons, typifying the moral conflict of good and evil in our world, and it is generally "the greatest of gods" who leads the hosts of heaven against the forces of the demons led by the Evil One. Thus, in the *Veda* we find Indra fighting against the demons led by Vṛtra; and later on in the *Purāṇas* we have Viṣṇu incarnating from time to time to fight against demon-kings like Hiraṇyakaśipu and Rāvaṇa. In Babylonia we find similarly the epic fight of Bel-Merodach with Tiawath, the Fiend of Darkness, the Spirit of Chaos and Negation. With Tiawath are ranged hosts of demons; and we find these terrific beings delineated in Babylonian tablets. Next the idea grew of erecting barriers against these evil hosts. This could be done in two ways: (1) by various kinds of purificatory ceremonies and (2) by other sorts of ceremonies intended to propitiate these evil ones. ²⁴ In Babylon both these methods seem to have been followed. To a Zoroastrian, however, the second method would be unthinkable, ²⁴ for being a fighter himself on the side of the Good

²³ Spence, op. cit, p. 205.

²⁴ The Yezidis even to-day in Persia have a regular ceremonial for Devil-worship, in order to propitiate His Sable Majesty (see Browne, *A Year among the Persians*, p. 522, also Jackson, *Persia, Past and Present*, pp. 10-14).

Spirit, he could never have dreamt of temporising in any way with the *Druj*.²⁵ So he would entrench himself behind purifications and washings and ceremonial purity. Of course such ideas border very close upon what is called magic and popular superstitions.

These ceremonials and purifications erected barriers against the hosts of Evil during man's mortal life. But far greater precautions were needed to prevent the soul from falling into their hands after death. Hence arose the need of an elaborate death ceremonial in which an important place was given to the "confession and repentance". This confession was usually to be repeated just before death. This custom was followed by most of the ancient nations, among them by both the Babylonians and the Egyptians.²⁶ Under these influences the custom of repeating the death-bed *Patét* arose among the Zoroastrians, and if by any chance a person had no opportunity of confessing his sins before death some near relation had to repeat it instead immediately afterwards.²⁷

For the holy soul, who had lived his life upon earth in accord with the behests of religion and in fighting the good fight, there was in the Babylonian religion the promise of "blessed immortality". After death such souls ascended through seven spheres and "penetrated into the eighth heaven to enjoy everlasting happiness as a subtle essence."²⁸ At the gates of each of these he had to give the appropriate password so that it may open out to him, and in this he was assisted by a psychopompus or "a guide of souls", who accompanied him throughout during this heavenward journey.²⁹

²⁵ The Iranian word *druj* (O. Per *drauga*) is the same as the Skt. *druh* and means lit. "the enemy" (cf. Satan). It personified the Evil and in the Gâthâs it is the word used more often than any other to signify evil. "This personification of the Avestan *Druj* in the Persian *drauga*, found, as we should expect, no correspondence in the Babylonian thought. How strikingly is this seen in the contrast between *drauga dahyawd vasy abava* (*Druj* dominated the province) and the lame Babylonian version *par-a-a-tu ina mdâtî lu ma-du i-mi-du* (in the land lies became numerous), Beh. i. 10." (Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon*, s.v. *drauga*, p. 103.)

²⁶ With the latter it was a "negative confession", see below.

²⁷ The Zoroastrian term *Patét* (from *paiti-i*) literally means "turning back (from sin)". Here the comparison should be with the *Patét Ravn-ni* which is recited for the dead with much the same purpose.

²⁸ Cumont, op. cit., p. 126.

²⁹ According to the Egyptian belief the soul of the dead after having passed through the weighing ceremony passes on into the realm of Osiris in exactly similar fashion.

The most important contribution of Babylon to the beliefs of the world was undoubtedly the science of astrology.³⁰ "Astrology, born on the banks of the Euphrates", was carried to every land and profoundly influenced even the ancient faith of Egypt. The essential idea underlying this science was the principle of sympathy between this and the heavenly worlds. "As above so below" was one of the great maxims of the ancient world. The inexorable march of the stars across the sky and the absolute regularity of the movements of the planets held out a promise of order and method and pointed to a Directing Mind and thus brought a ray of light and hope into the turmoil and strife of our earthly life. The Babylonians had observed the heavens for centuries and had arrived at extremely correct calculations about the movements of the heavenly bodies. They also had a system of "big years" and their world-periods extending over 432,000 years remind us irresistibly of the Hindu *yugas*.³¹ The Babylonians had proved that the mind of man could not only follow the motions of the stars through enormous periods of time but could even predict their exact position at any moment. The completion of a cycle meant naturally a repetition of all that had gone before on the face of the heavens as also upon the earth below. Hence the power of predicting what would happen.

Very early this science allied itself with religion and soon a Chaldaeo-Persian³² doctrine grew up that "a bitter necessity compelled the souls, that dwell in great numbers on celestial heights, to descend upon this earth and to animate certain bodies that are to hold them in captivity. In descending to the earth they travel through the spheres of the planets and receive some quality from each of these wandering stars, according to its position. Contrariwise, when death releases them from their carnal prison, they return to their first habitation, providing they have led a pious life, and if as they pass through the doors of the superposed heavens they divest themselves of the passions and inclinations acquired during their first journey, to ascend finally as pure essence to the radiant abode of the gods. There they live forever among the eternal stars freed from the tyranny of destiny and even from the limitations of time."³³

³⁰ We find the influence of Babylonian astrology in such everyday words like, "martial", "jovial", "lunatic" etc.

³¹ The "big year" corresponds to the "year of the *devas* (gods)" among the Hindus.

³² The name Chaldaea is here used in the sense of Ancient Babylonia.

³³ Cumont, op. cit., pp. 177-178.

Associated with this was the identification of many of the ancient gods with the various stars and planets.³⁴ Star-worship thus grew out of it. In the case of some, like Sirius,³⁵ there was a distinct admixture of seasonal festivals. There was also the worship of Time (as such)³⁶ and of the various portions of time (like the year, the month, etc.) as divine beings. This too we find in Zoroastrianism in the invocations to the *Ratus* of the various periods of time, of the five *Gâhs*, etc.³⁷

As a natural corollary of star-worship we find the cult of the Sun growing in importance, for the Sun is the greatest of all heavenly lights. Thus there grew up gradually a Solar Pantheism. The Astronomer-priests called the Sun "the Lord of the Heavens", "the Master of Eternity" or "He whose name is praised through all Eternity". The Sun was the King and the Guide of all other luminaries, and hence the Lord and Master of the whole world.³⁸ As the "intelligent light" he was regarded as especially the Creator of human reason.³⁹ Among the Semites the Sun has thus reached the final and the highest idea of God as "a divinity unique, almighty, eternal, universal and ineffable, that revealed itself throughout nature but whose most energetic manifestation was the Sun."⁴⁰

(iii) *The Religion of Egypt.* The religion of Egypt is remarkable in this that from the earliest times of which we have records we find a very clear and a very unequivocal recognition of a Supreme Being, who is the Lord of all and of whom all other gods are but varied aspects. This Being was called by the name of *Neter*. The original meaning of this name seems to be that which has the power of renewing itself perpetually, in other words "self-existence".⁴¹ The existence of this

³⁴ It may be noted that both in the Cuneiform and in the Egyptian Hieroglyphs the word for "god" or "deity" was originally a star.

³⁵ *Tishtrya* or *Tîr Yazata*. Some hold that *Tîr* was Antares.

³⁶ In the later Zoroastrian system *Zravân akarna* represents "Infinite Time", whereas *Zravân darâyêd xvaôdâta* represents the "world-period."

³⁷ Cf. the earlier *Hâs* of the *Yasna* as also the opening chapters of the *Vispered*.

³⁸ Cicero has used the phrase "Sol dux et princeps"; Greek writers have used the words ἥλιος βασιλεύς both of which correspond to the Av. *hvara xšaeta*, خورشید

³⁹ Cf. धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् of the *Gâyatri*.

⁴⁰ Cumont, op. cit., p. 134.

⁴¹ Cf. स्वयम्. There is another connected word *neter* which means "renovation."

fundamental idea of God in Egypt from the earliest days has given to the Egyptian an outlook upon life and religion which is entirely modern. Thus, in the *Text of Unas*, dated about B. C. 3300, we find these remarkable words about the soul that hath found the final release: "Thou⁴³ art pure, thy bones are the gods and goddesses of heaven, thou existest at the side of God, thou art unfastened, thou comest forth towards thy soul, for every evil word (or thing) that hath been written in the name of Unas hath been done away".⁴³ Of nearly the same age are the *Precepts of Kagemna* and the *Precepts of Ptah-hetep*, and herein too we find ideas of God and of duty which are as high as can be found in any religion ancient or modern. Some quotations will show these ideas better:

"If thou hast ground to till, labour in the field which God hath given thee".

"If thou abasest thyself in the service of a perfect man, thy conduct shall be fair before God".

"Satisfy those who depend upon thee as far as thou art able to do so, this should be done by those whom God hath favoured".

"If, having been of no account, thou hast become great; and if, having been poor, thou hast become rich . . . be not hard-hearted on account of thy advancement, because thou hast become merely the guardian of the things which God hath provided".

"What is loved of God is obedience".⁴⁴

"Verily a good son is of the gifts of God".

In later times the same idea of God is set forth; the following quotations range over the later periods of Egyptian history:

"Pray thou with a loving heart all the petitions which are in secret. He will perform thy business, he will hear that which thou sayest and will accept thy offerings".

"Behold thou His plans with thine eye and devote thyself to the adoration of His Name. He giveth souls unto millions of forms, and him that magnifieth Him doth He magnify".⁴⁵

⁴³ Referring to the King Unas, translated to heaven after death.

⁴⁴ Quoted by Budge in his *Egyptian Religion*, p. 8. I am indebted to this excellent book for most of the information contained in this part of the lecture.

⁴⁵ Cf. the idea of Sraosha in Zoroastrianism.

⁴⁶ Cf. ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव मजाम्यहम्। *Bhg.*, iv. 11.

"If thy mother raise her hands to God, he will hear her prayers".

"Give thyself to God and keep thyself daily for God".⁴⁶

The other gods were also termed *netern*, i.e., beings who in some way partake of the nature or character of God.⁴⁷ These lesser gods are nothing but aspects, or attributes, or manifestations, or phases of the One God, that God being identified with *Râ* the Solar-god, who in his turn is a type and symbol of the Eternal being.

Thus we have from the very earliest time a well marked tendency in Egyptian religion towards monotheism. But there was also a sort of polytheism (or rather pantheism) also existing side by side, and these two tendencies can be clearly marked throughout the long ages of Egyptian history. Some Egyptologists see in this religion three distinct elements which have existed side by side and have been overlapping one another considerably. The first is a Solar monotheism with *Râ* as the Supreme Being; the second is the cult of the regenerating power of nature (as seen in the worship of harvest and river deities)⁴⁸ and of various animals and plants; and the third is the cult of the anthropomorphic deity, the Man-God, Osiris, who lost his life and rose up again with the full stature of God. Of these three elements the first represents the highest ideal of Egyptian faith, the second represents the "popular religion", while the third represents the ascent of Man.

According to the early teachings of Egypt there was in the beginning "boundless primeval water which was . . . shrouded with thick darkness."⁴⁹ Then the Spirit of the Primeval Water felt the desire for creative activity and he uttered the Word.⁵⁰ And straightaway the world sprang into being in the form in which it had existed in the mind of the Spirit. Next came the germ or egg from which came *Râ*,⁵¹ within whose shining form was embodied the almighty power of the divine spirit".

⁴⁶ All the quotations are from Budge, op. cit., pp. 11-13.

⁴⁷ See note 18 to this lecture.

⁴⁸ The Nile-god, Hâpi, is sometimes depicted as "a large man having the breasts of a woman".

⁴⁹ Cf. अम्भः स्विदासीद्गहनं गभरिम् । *RV.*, x. 129. 1.

⁵⁰ Cf. the story of Creation in other religions. For the efficacy of the "Word" among the Zoroastrians, see *Yas.* xix.

⁵¹ The idea of the "Gold-seed" (*Hiranyagarbha*) of the *Veda* offers a remarkably close parallel.

This Supreme Râ was to all intents and purposes the One God of the Egyptians, and His epithets seem as if they had been taken straight out of the ancient Aryan Scriptures. Thus:

"God is one and alone, and none other existeth with Him; God is One, the One who hath made all things"

"God is a spirit, a hidden spirit, the Spirit of Spirits".

"God is Truth, and He liveth by Truth, and He feedeth thereon. He is the King of Truth, He resteth upon Truth, He fashioned Truth and He executeth Truth throughout all the world".

"God is Life and through Him only man liveth. He giveth life to man, and He breatheth the breath of life into his nostrils".

"God is father and mother, the Father of Fathers and the Mother of Mothers".

"God Himself is Existence, He liveth in all things and liveth upon all things. He endureth without increase or diminution. He multiplieth Himself millions of times, and He possesseth multitudes of forms and multitudes of members".

"God is the Father of the gods, and the Father of the father of all deities".

"The Heavens rest upon His head, and the Earth supporteth His feet; heaven hideth His spirit, the earth hideth His form, and the underworld shutteth up the mystery of Him within it. His body is like the air, heaven reacheth upon His head, and the new inundation (of the Nile) containeth His form".⁵²

Here we get the God who is the Lord of Truth (*ašahe Ratuš*), who rests upon Truth and who holds His domain through Truth. This emphasis laid upon monotheism from the very outset has coloured the whole history of Egyptian religion in spite of all the queer mythology that grew up on its "popular" side.

The Isis-Osiris cult represents, as it were, mythologically and allegorically the progress of the human soul towards perfection. There is an enormous lot of very mystical teaching in this cult, and occult and secret schools connected with this cult have existed throughout the whole of Egyptian history. And long

⁵² Quoted by Budge, op. cit., pp. 19-22. The texts are taken from all periods of Egyptian history.

afterwards under the name of Isis-Serapis this cult continued to influence the religions of the Roman world. Besides, the influence of this cult can be traced through the Roman world into Christianity.

The Egyptian *Book of the Dead*⁵³ represents the passage of the soul after death into the other world, the principle theme being the resurrection of the dead and the attainment of immortality, just as Osiris is related to have done in the myth. Osiris may be compared to Yama, who was the first to journey into the other world⁵⁴ and to show mankind the path to heaven. Like the Aryan Yama, too, Osiris had his twin-sister-Isis, and "they loved each other in their mother's womb before they were born", and of their union Horus was born. This is "a mystic variant of a creation myth, of the first pair from whom all were born."⁵⁵

The great opponent of Osiris and Horus is Set. He represents night, while Horus represents the day. In fact the two represent the eternal conflict of good and evil. Set becomes a sort of Egyptian Ahriman, "the personification of all evil, and of all that is horrible and terrible in nature, such as the desert in its most desolate form, the storm and the tempest".⁵⁶ The most remarkable point about the two opponents, Horus and Set, is that *they have both sprung from the same source*, for in one place they are represented as having one body but with two heads.⁵⁷ In the Osiris legend we have the description first of the defeat of Horus by Set and of his temporary eclipse; but in the second conflict Horus is finally and completely victorious. This is exactly what Zarathushtra has taught, that even though Ahriman may win for a time the ultimate result is certain—the victory of Life over Death, of Good over Evil. Another remarkable point about Set is that his images are very rare in Egypt. The reason seems to be that since he was taken to be the Evil One, almost all his older images were mutilated and destroyed as savouring too much of black magic.

⁵³ There are many different versions of this text found in various places; though these vary considerably in details, the main theme is the same, viz., the passage of the soul to the other world and the weighing of the heart and the final admission of the deceased into the heaven of the gods.

⁵⁴ See the hymns to Yama in *RV.* x.

⁵⁵ The Mashya-Mashyoi of the *Bundahishn*.

⁵⁶ Budge, *op. cit.*, pp. 96 f.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

The judgment of the dead constitutes the most remarkable doctrine of the Egyptian religion. The details are to be found in the various texts of the *Book of the Dead*, found in many a tomb. Several examples are found even as far back as B.C. 3600. The idea of weighing the heart of the deceased is found quite early. The deceased stands in the presence of the gods and of the various beings⁵⁸ who had controlled his actions upon earth. He first addresses his heart considering it to be the source of all his life.⁵⁹ He also identifies it with his *kâ* which is a sort of spiritual double of the deceased, and corresponds somewhat to the *urvân* of Zoroastrian Theology.⁶⁰ It is here that he also makes his "negative confession". He enumerates the various heinous sins which he has *not* committed. This enumeration corresponds very closely to the *Patêl* of the Iranians. The gods are mentioned in turn and the deceased affirms that he has *not* sinned in that particular manner such as would offend that particular divinity.

Next the body of the deceased is weighed against his heart with the view of finding out "if the former had obeyed the dictates of the latter".⁶¹ The idea of weighing in the balance is also found in Zoroastrianism, but there the body and the heart (corresponding to the material and the spiritual halves of our being) are replaced by bad and good deeds. The soul of the deceased in the shape of a man-headed hawk has to be present at the weighing, for the Egyptians did recognise that man was free to choose his own path in life, and after death his own soul in a sense sat in judgment upon him.⁶² All this is in close accord with the teaching of Zarathushtra, and this should emphasise what we have already mentioned that Zarathushtra re-affirmed and re-established the ancient truths which were beginning to be forgotten—in this case responsibility for each act of life and the reward for all acts, whether obtainable in this life or in the next.

After the weighing, the soul of the deceased (if not found wanting) was conducted into the presence of Osiris and was received into the realm of immortality. This was the magnificent promise that was held out—the promise of immortality. "As sure

⁵⁸ They were called *Shenit*.

⁵⁹ Hence he calls it "mother".

⁶⁰ Cf. the idea in *Yt.* xxii. In some places the *kâ* seems to be more akin to the *daêna*.

⁶¹ Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

⁶² Could this have been the implication of invoking one's own *urvân* and *fravashi*? (See *Nyaish* i. 9.)

as Osiris lives ", says an Egyptian text, " he also shall live ; as truly as Osiris is not dead, shall he not die ; as truly as Osiris is not annihilated, shall he not be annihilated ".⁶³ This immortality was not to be enjoyed as a mere shade or spirit, *but in full possession of a body and a soul*. The deceased lives on in the realm of the gods in full enjoyment of the company of Râ and of the other gods and ultimately he hopes that each of his limbs shall be transformed into one or other of the deities and that finally he shall be absorbed in and become one with the Supreme Life-giver Râ.

In the heaven-world, too, the deceased was thought to have a body and a soul and probably this was the reason for the Egyptian custom of mummification. As a natural corollary meat and drink had to be offered periodically to the dead, otherwise the *kâ* would be in serious danger of starvation. This idea of supplying meat and drink to the souls of the deceased is as old as humanity itself, and is found in all religions. But in the matter of ceremonial details the religion of Egypt comes very near what was so prevalent among the Parsis till very lately, viz., the *bâj-rozgâr* ceremonies.

Besides mere food, prayers were also very necessary to the dead, in fact they were of far greater importance. These prayers were of two sorts : (i) those *for* the dead and (ii) those *to* the dead. The first kind helped the soul in its trial before the judges,⁶⁴ while the second sought the help of deified dead, who corresponded in some way with our *asho farohars*.⁶⁵

The occasion of death was regarded by the Egyptian priests as an occasion for joy. The *Song of the Harpist*, a hymn that was sung on the day of the funeral " invited the listener to make his heart glad " before the sadness of the inevitable end.⁶⁶

⁶³ Quoted by Cumont, op. cit., p. 100. Cf. the magnificent opening of the Christian burial service.

⁶⁴ The first sort of prayer was in the shape of the relatives repeating the " negative confession ", as also by prayers to gods for intercession on behalf of the deceased.

⁶⁵ The suggestion here is by no means to identify the *Fravashi* with the " deified dead ". Egyptian religion also mentions the various " principles " which go to make up the man, but their correspondences to the *ahu*, *daêdâ*, *baodâgh*, *urvân* and *fravashi* are not clear.

⁶⁶ Many Zoroastrians to-day seem to object to the opening words of the Parsi funeral service, where in the first verse the word *rafêðrahîdâ* (re-joicing) occurs. May not a similar explanation be offered in this case as well ?

To sum up :

We have seen that three of the principal religions of antiquity which have come into close contact with Zoroastrianism have many elements in common with it. This need not necessarily mean that there was conscious borrowing on the part of the Iranians. It merely indicates close and intimate intercourse extending over many generations. In every land there is always a certain amount of folk-lore and "popular religion," which embodies a large number of beliefs, dating back to prehistoric times. It is from this floating mass of beliefs that the Prophets have drawn their arguments. They take up some of these and revivify them with their Wisdom, and utilise them to lead the people again into the True Path.

LECTURE IV.

MITHRAISM.¹

In the study of every great religion we are confronted with a double task. First of all the religion itself has to be studied in the light of its own documents as well as in the light of other faiths that have come into contact with it. This may be called the *objective* study of a faith. Our other task would be to study the religion from the inside, i.e., to try to plumb its true depth, to find out what is it that has attracted human beings to it, what is the nature of the solace it brings to thousands of its followers, what effect it has had in the uplifting of human souls, and in pointing out to them the way of realising their highest ideals. This second task we may call the *subjective* study of a religion. Both these methods of study have to be borne in mind and both are to be used in right proportion. It is a great mistake to neglect either. But it is very hard—nay, almost impossible—in the case of a religion to get a balanced combination of both these in any one person.² If the student himself does not belong to the faith he studies, there is the danger of his studies becoming completely objective, and consequently somewhat dry and such as would appeal to the head alone. If, on the other hand, the student himself belongs to the faith he studies, there is the danger that his devotion and his reverence may warp his judgment and may

¹ I have drawn most of the facts given here from Cumont (op. cit., pp. 135-161) and from G. R. S. Mead's *The Mysteries of Mithra*. References have not been always given from these two books.

² Schlegel advised his pupils to study the Scriptures of India with the critical acumen of the Western Philologist (objectively) combined with the reverence of the Brāhmaṇa (subjectively).

vitiate his conclusions very materially.³ But such a student appeals to the heart; and consequently his work has a value for the average follower of that faith which the dry pages of the other type of student cannot possess.

In the study of Zoroastrianism we have got, besides the remnants left of the Avesta and their later Pahlavi and Persian commentaries,⁴ a large amount of floating tradition and folklore embodied in rites and beliefs and ceremonies.⁵ Besides these we have a certain amount of "mystic tradition", which was revealed to only a few and which was jealously guarded from the profane who would have been likely to scoff at it.⁶ This sacred and secret lore is to be acquired only after long years of patient and diligent searching. In almost every case the true secrets of these mysteries are known only to a few initiates, but in order that the memory of these may not be completely lost most of these were embodied in some sort of symbolic ceremonial which could even be performed in public. Of this nature were the mysteries which were performed in every land and in every age. They exhibited symbolically some of the fundamental truths of human life, the progress of the soul Godwards, the ultimate defeat of Evil, etc.⁷ And long after the religion to which an ancient mystery had belonged had passed away, some of the mystic ritual belonging to it persists in surviving. In such cases it very often becomes attached even to some newer faith.⁸

³ I may quote, e.g., the persistent refusal of some Parsi scholars to admit the "disagreeable fact" that idolatry did exist in Zoroastrian Iran.

⁴ The *Revdyets* may be included under this heading.

⁵ A lot of this folk-tradition is to be found preserved in the *Shāhnāmah* and in the various other *Nāmehs* (or hero-cycles) in Persian. These preserve some exceedingly ancient traditions. The various gestures and postures made during certain of the ceremonies (e.g. the આવળે હાથના આશીર્વાદ, used for the remarriage of a widow) also come under this heading.

⁶ Cf. a similar injunction in the *Upanishads* and in the *Gītā* (इदं ते नानुपस्काय न शिष्याय कदाचन । न चाशुभ्रूषवे वाच्यं न च मां योऽयमूयति ॥) And Jesus also warned His disciples against "casting pearls before the swine".

⁷ E. g. the Isis-Osiris mysteries of Egypt. Freemasonry also seems to have had its origin in some such mystic ceremonials.

⁸ A very good instance of this is *Tāziā* (or *Tabūt*) of the Muharram festival, which in its origin was a Babylonian mystery connected with the myth of Ishtar and Tammuz, a Babylonian variant of the Isis-Osiris story, with a seasonal festival superadded. Later on this story attached itself to the tale of the Martyrs of Kerbala.

The history of Mithraism illustrates all these points, because here we find a very ancient mystic tradition attaching itself successively to various faith in various lands, and adapting itself to the needs and to the genius of the people who adopted it.

Mithra was an ancient Aryan Deity closely associated with the Supreme Being, Asura Varuna.⁹ He represents the Heavenly Light and so He was always invoked in company with the All-embracing Father of all,¹⁰ the wide-spreading Heavens. In both the Avesta as well as in the Veda He is the Lord of Heavenly Light and therefore of all Lights. He is the Light, *not* the Sun; the Sun is His physical vehicle. He is ever awake, ever on the watch. With his thousand ears and his ten thousand eyes He watches over the world.¹¹ He hears all, He sees all and none can deceive Him. Hence He is the Lord of Truth and Loyalty. He is invoked while taking oaths and He guarantees all contracts and punishes all who violate their bond or break their plighted word.¹² Being Light, He is also Heat and Life and hence He is regarded as the "Lord of wide pastures" (*vouru-gaoyaâiti*), in other words He is the Lord of Fecundity. "He giveth increase, He giveth abundance, He giveth herds, He giveth progeny and life. He poureth forth the waters and causeth the plants to grow; He bestoweth upon His worshippers health of the body, wealth and well-dowered offspring. And besides these material comforts He also gives Peace, Wisdom and Glory. As Lord of Light He is the foe of Darkness and of Vice and Impurity. He leads the hosts of Heaven against the hosts of the Abyss and in a sense is a prototype of the Archangel Michael".¹³

In the Veda His constant associate is Varuna. In fact these are the great Twin Brothers, and here again They are clearly

⁹ The finding of the name in the Hittite inscription at Boghaz-Küei seems to indicate that Mithra-worship had already had a long history in Western Asia.

¹⁰ Cf. अमृतः मित्रा नः referring to Varuna. The name Varuna is from the root *vr*, to enclose or to surround.

¹¹ *hazargrô-gaoša*, and *baēvarā-cashmana*, are the constant epithets of Mithra in the Avesta.

¹² In the Avesta *miğra* also means "contract" or "plighted word", and the *miğrô-druj* (the sinner against Mithra, i.e., the breaker of his plighted word) was one of the worst of sinners.

¹³ Mead, op. cit., p. 27. Most of the attributes of Mithra enumerated here are also found in the *Mihr Yasht* (Yt. x, 61, 65, 140).

regarded as two aspects of the ETERNAL LIGHT. And all through the ages when Varuṇa remained supreme in the Aryan pantheon, Mithra retained His position at His side.

In Iran emphasis was laid upon the unique pre-eminence of Ahura (Varuṇa), and so His Twin, Mithra, could not be regarded as His equal. In fact we find that Mithra is not even mentioned in the Gāthās of Zarathushtra, because His Twin Brother, Ahura, has concentrated within Himself the attributes of both. In the later Avesta, however, we find Him once again associated with Ahura, the Two being invoked together as the Two Lords, exalted, imperishable and holy.¹⁴ But in the Avesta He is in closer association with *Hvarə-χšaēta* (*Svar, Savitr*), the Sun, who is His physical representative. Another important function of Mithra in later Avesta is as Judge of the Dead in association with *Rashnu* (Justice). As Lord of wide pastures He is invoked with *Rāman-χvāstra*, the Yazata of fecundity and plenty, whose boons are rich harvest, fertile fields, wide pastures, abundant fodder and thick foliage.¹⁵ The waters of *Arədvī-sūra Anāhita* are also invoked to grant these boons as well.¹⁶

In the days of the early Achæmenians Iran came into very intimate contact with Babylon and Egypt. As a natural result the ancient Aryan faith of Mazda-worship absorbed a number of "foreign" ideas. These lands—Babylon and Egypt—depended for their fertility upon the great rivers, the Euphrates, the Tigris and the Nile. The flooding of these streams every year in spring naturally led to the development of a spring-festival closely associated with the worship of waters and the god of fecundity. This had given rise to the Ishtar-cult in Babylon and the Isis-cult in Egypt. The former had already been united to astrology and magic, while the latter had got amalgamated with the mystery of the Perfect-Man, Osiris. Hence we see among the later Achæmenians the cult of the Lord of Fecundity, Mithra, uniting itself with that of Anāhita, the Spirit of the Waters, representing also the Mother-aspect of Nature, who purifies the seeds of all males and the wombs of all females so as to ensure a strong progeny.¹⁷ The Hittites,

¹⁴ *Niyāish*, i. 7; ii. 12; *Yt.* x. 145, also 113.

¹⁵ Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, p. 114. See footnote 166 there for references to the Avesta.

¹⁶ *Yas.* lxviii, 14.

¹⁷ *Niyāish* iv. 3; *Yt.* v. 87.

too, who had close relations with both Babylonia and Egypt, had also worshipped Mitra and the other Aryan deities. No doubt the fusion of the Mithra cult with the Ishtar-cult of Babylonia and the Isis-cult was greatly helped by the Hittite beliefs.¹⁸

There was also a cross-current from Greece where also there was a closely similar cult of Dionysios and Demeter.¹⁹ This cult also had its Spring-festival celebrated with great rejoicings and often with a great deal of lewdness.²⁰ Thus we get the later Achæmenians invoking, besides Ahura-Mazda, both Mithra and Anâhita. We are told by Herodotus and other historians that Anâhita had a magnificent temple dedicated to her where her image was worshipped.²¹ The minute description given of her personal appearance in *Yt.* v. 7, 64, 78, and 126-129, seems to support the statement made by the Greeks.²²

The religion of Persia about the end of the Achæmenian period was Mazdayana Zoroastrianism. This was, however, largely influenced by Babylonian astrology and magic, and there was a strong tendency towards the Mithra-Anâhita cult as well. During the days of Achæmenian supremacy the Persians had settled in every corner of their vast Empire and even beyond its limits. And wherever they went they clung to their beliefs and customs with persistent tenacity.²³ The conquest of Alexander brought in a strong influx of Greek ideas and beliefs. The Greeks had the habit of seeing their own beliefs everywhere; they saw the similarities between their own divinities and those of the Persians, and gave to the latter their own Greek names.²⁴

¹⁸ We have as yet not much detailed information regarding the Hittite beliefs.

¹⁹ See Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 76. He also mentions that this Dionysios-Demeter cult, so closely akin to the Isis-Osiris cult, was practised in Crete in prehistoric days.

²⁰ The *Holi* in India was also originally a Spring-festival, the *Madanotsava* of Classical Sanskrit writers. This was a very ancient worship of the Lord of Fecundity and his spouse the Spirit of Fertility (*Madana* and *Rati*). This ancient cult later on united itself to the Krishna cult. The lewd songs and gestures and the foul language used to-day during this festival are relics of the ancient worship of the Lord of Love and of Fecundity.

²¹ See Sykes, *History of Persia* (2nd ed.), vol. i, p. 230, also the plate facing that page, showing the ruins of the temple of Anâhita at Kangavar.

²² Dhalla, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

²³ As they have also done in India.

²⁴ This is called "synonymy". Megasthenes, e.g., describes Indian Gods under Greek names, and similarly does Herodotus describe the Iranian deities whom Kurush and others worshipped.

The memories of Achæmenian greatness continued for many years and the various dynasties that arose in Pontus and elsewhere claimed to be the descendants of Kurush and Darius and tried to imitate the Achæmenian ways. Mithra worship was kept up by these various dynasties, especially in Asia Minor. A proof of this may be seen in the fact that a large number of these rulers, as also those of the Parthian dynasty, bore the name of Mihrdād.²⁵

Rome now comes upon the stage as a world-power. She and Iran shared between them at one time all the known world; and the ambassador of King Narsi the Sasanian at the court of Galerius once called these two states "the two eyes of the human race". As Rome began to expand eastwards, the influence of Iran upon her became more and more pronounced. At first they merely came into touch with the fringe of Iranian culture, the various Mazdayasnan colonies scattered throughout Western Asia; but from the first century of the Christian era the contact became quite intimate. The petty local dynasties in Anatolia and Commagene had disappeared before the advancing Romans. Wherever the Romans went they constructed a network of roads which served to bring them in touch with the remoter towns as well. Thus when in Trajan's time (A.D. 98-117) Rome and Parthia faced each other, we find Roman legions scattered from the banks of the Euphrates upto Armenia and so the whole of Pontus and Cappadocia came in intimate contact with the Latin world. Moreover these Roman legions were drawn from every part of their Empire, and so Iranian culture was carried by these legionaries to every quarter of Europe when they returned home after service.

The spread of Mithraism in the Roman Empire began definitely with the conquest of Cilicia in B.C. 67 by Pompey, who is stated by Plutarch to have "performed strange sacrifices on Olympus, a volcano of Lycia, and practised occult rites, among others those of Mithra".²⁶ The lands conquered by Pompey resembled the original homeland of the Persians—the land of Pars or Persis—both in climate and in soil and especially in its capacity for horse-breeding. Hence the majority of both the peasantry as well as the nobility of that region belonged to the Persian race. And among these the cult of Mithra, "the invin-

²⁵ At one period (circa B. C. 120) all the chief rulers of the Iranian world bore the name of Mihrdād (Mithradates).

²⁶ Plutarch, *V. Pompei*, 24; quoted by Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

cible Lord of Battles", was certainly practised. They were, of course Mazda-worshipping people, and their religion was Mazda-worship as taught by Zarathushtra but a good deal modified and somewhat nearer the pre-Zoroastrian Aryan religion of "nature-worship". The language they used (for writing at any rate) was a Semitic tongue, a variety of Aramaic. Their priests are called the *magousaioi* in the Greek portion of the bilingual inscriptions lately discovered. This form of the word is a clear transliteration into Greek of the original Semitic plural.²⁷ This tends to prove that these magians had come by way of Babylon rather than directly from Pars. And thus we find a sort of syncretism of Mazda-worship and of Babylonian religion. Thus, Ahura was assimilated to Bel (-Merodach), Anâhita to Ishtar, and Mithra to Shamash. For this last reason, undoubtedly, Mithra was always known to the Romans as *Sol invictus*.

In Anatolia, in the vicinity of the small town Doliche, a deity was worshipped, who was later known to the Romans as *Jupiter Dolichenus*. His chief weapon was the two-edged axe, an ancient symbol venerated in Crete as well as in Egypt.²⁸ This deity was later syncretised with the Semitic Baal-Shamîn and had become entirely Semitic in character.

When Kurush conquered this region this ancient Deity was assimilated to Ahura-Mazda; for, as Herodotus tells us (i. 131), he represented "the full circle of heaven and was worshipped on tops of mountains". In post-Alexandrian times this region was ruled over by a petty dynasty—half-Persian, half-Greek; and under them this Deity of Doliche was actually named *Zeus Oromasdes*,²⁹ and He was reputed to reside in sublime ethereal regions. This was the *Jupiter Caelus*, known to the Romans, and also recognised by them as the head of the Mazdayasnan pantheon. And in later times this same Zeus Oromasdes was closely associated with the worship of Mithra.

²⁷ *μαγουσαῖοι* The intervocalic *-s* is contrary to the rules of Greek phonetics.

²⁸ The hieroglyph for *neter*, the Supreme God in Egypt is an axe. Objects looking like double axe-heads have been found in Persia at Khie naman to the west of Kerman (see Sykes, op. cit., p. 184, and also the plates facing). Cf. also the double-edged weapon of Sraosha (*Yas.* lvii. 31) and my note thereon in the *Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference*, (Calcutta, 1922), p.

²⁹ Ζεὺς Ὀρομάσδης see Cumont, op. cit., pp. 146-148.

Thus the Mithra-worship with which the Romans came into contact was "a combination of Persian beliefs with Semitic theology, incidentally including certain elements from the native cults of Asia Minor", together with a certain amount from the Hittite religion. The Greeks who had conquered that region just before the Romans, had in their turn resorted to synonymy³⁰ and had also imposed a certain number of ceremonies from their own mysteries in consequence. In spite of all this admixture Mithraism remains in essence Zoroastrian Mazdaism blended with Chaldaean (i.e., Ancient Babylonian) theology.

It is strange that the Greeks never took to Mithraism. The reasons may have been various. We may guess some of them, e.g., (i) their hereditary dislike for anything Iranian, (ii) their racial pride and narrow outlook and (iii) the psychological bent of their minds making them unable to respond to the mystic symbolism or to submit to the discipline inculcated in Mithra worship.³¹ Still the Macedonian conquest of Iran led to the definite and final formulation of this cult. Cumont says that "it is certainly during the period of the moral and religious fermentation promoted by the Macedonian conquest that Mithraism received its more or less definitive form".

Once accepted by the Latin world it spread with great rapidity. We find it on the banks of the Danube and of the Rhine; we find it along the Roman walls in Britain; we find it on the borders of the Sahara as also in the valleys of the Asturias in Spain. The Roman Empire and the commerce of the Mediterranean (which was mainly in the hands of the Asiatic merchants from the Levant) helped to spread this cult. And no inconsiderable part of its missionaries were the slaves and the menial workers in the families of the Roman aristocracy. The cult grew so fast that in A. D. 307 Diocletian, Galerius and Licinius solemnly dedicated a sanctuary on the Danube to Mithra, as "the Protector of their Empire" (*fautori imperii sui*).

³⁰ I. e. translating the names of foreign deities into those of their own to whom they corresponded most closely.

³¹ Cumont (op. cit. p. 65) sums up all these causes in the vague words: "it was too Asiatic, on the whole, to be accepted without repugnance by the occidentals". But may one ask if the Romans were not occidentals, and also whether the West did not accept the Asiatic Gospel of Christ? It is a great pity that even such fine scholars like Cumont cannot get over the usual anti-Asiatic bias found in the West.

All through the ages when the cult of Mithra was spreading in Asia Minor and getting assimilated to the local cults of that region, there was another stream from the Mazdaism of Iran flowing southwards and westwards. It spread through Syria, Palestine and Egypt and it appealed specially to those who were devoted to ceremonials like the Pharisees,³² to those who had ascetic and mystic tendencies like the Gnostics and to the intellectually minded like the learned circles at Alexandria. What attracted all these three classes of men was the high morality and the deep philosophy of Zarathushtra. The name of Zarathushtra was enough to attract any learned man of that period. At Alexandria, the intellectual centre of the Hellenic world, a lively and continued interest in the great Prophet of Iran and in Magian Philosophy was always maintained. We are told (on the authority of Pliny) that Hermippus, one of the librarians of the Brychion,³³ not only wrote several books *About the Magi*, but also "catalogued the works of Zoroaster in possession of the great Library, and found that they added up to the amazing total of 2,000,000 lines".³⁴ Zoroaster was also regarded as the author of the *Chaldaean Oracles*³⁵ and the undisputed Master of the Magi. Other Iranian writers on Magian philosophy have also been mentioned, like Hostanes and Hystaspes.³⁶ Other collections of ancient rolls of the Chaldaeans, Parthians, Medes and Hebrews were to be found "in the book-collections of the Ptolemies, which they stored away in every temple, especially in the Serapaeum".³⁷ This Serapaeum was the second building (a temple) connected with the Library at Alexandria and it received the overflow from the Brychion. Many of these works on Magian Philosophy

³² Some writers would like to see in this name a variant of the word *Pársi* (φαρσιῶται Heb. *Perushim*).

³³ This was the name of the great Library of Alexandria.

³⁴ Mead, op. cit., p. 19; also Cumont, op. cit., p. 138.

³⁵ This work was also called the *Oracles of Zoroaster*. The work is at present extant in a Greek version and there is a good translation of it (in two volumes) by G. R. S. Mead. The close association of Chaldaean and Zarathushtra led many to believe that He was a Chaldaean. This is merely the result of the blending of Zoroastrian doctrines with Chaldean astrology and magic.

³⁶ Hystaspes is the name Vishtâspa. Could not this name have been meant for Jâmâspa? For Iranian tradition has ascribed great wisdom to him as also the authorship of several works on astrology and magic. He is reputed to have been one of the personal disciples of the Prophet.

³⁷ Zosimus, quoted by Mead, loc. cit.

were freely circulating in the original tongues throughout Syria, Palestine and Arabia.³⁸

This was the first and the earlier stream from Iranian culture. The second stream flowed northwards and westwards into Armenia, Pontus and Cappadocia. This was the stream of Mithraic tradition which we have already attempted to trace. The first appealed to the intellect, or to use the Hindu phrase appealed to the Brâhmaṇa, while the second appealed to the emotions, especially to those of valour and discipline, i.e., to the Kshattriya.

By the third century after Christ there is reason to believe that both these streams had united among the learned circles at least. We find, for instance, Porphyry (at the end of the third century A.D.) deeply versed in Mithraism as well in the Chaldaean lore. And henceforth all the later Platonists were initiates in the Mithra-cult as well as deep students of the *Oracles*.

But Mithraism, either by itself or united to Neo-Platonism, was not destined to become the faith of the West. It came very near achieving this, and in a very definite sense prepared the way for the ultimate victory of Christianity over Roman Paganism. Indeed, just before Constantine, Mithraism had all but triumphed. But it was finally defeated because "Christianity ascended the throne of Caesars, and Christianity became Caesarised".³⁹ This transition from Mithraism to Christianity was not altogether abrupt, because the Christ-mystery which replaced the Mithra-mystery also dealt with the same theme, viz., the perfecting of Man.

There was one last attempt made by the Emperor Julian (the Apostate, A.D. 360-363) to reinstate Mithraism but it was unsuccessful and thereafter Mithra worship gradually faded out. In Iran, the land of its birth, the worship of Mithra, "the Invincible Lord", was replaced by the kindred worship of the "Lord of Battles and of Victory" Verethraghna, (Behram)⁴⁰ and so

³⁸ This stream carried the mystic tradition of Iran to Arabia. And Mahomed seems to have been quite aware of it. Indeed it formed part of the esoteric doctrines of early Islam. When Islam conquered Persia this mystic tradition revived in the more congenial soil of the land of its origin, and blossomed forth as the exquisite Sufi poetry.

³⁹ Mead, op. cit., p. 43.

⁴⁰ This is borne out by the cult of the Fire of Victory—*Atar Verethraghna* or *Atash Behrām*—in Sasanian Iran. There is the legend of Verethraghna, in the shape of a Ram, protecting Ardashir, the founder of that dynasty. Many of the monarchs of that house bore the name of Varharan (Verethraghna). The whole question of the cult of Behrām under the Sasanian Rulers has been recently ably discussed by Sir J. C. Coyajee in the *JASB.*, xxii (new series, 1926) pp. 391 ff.

this ancient cult faded out in the East as well. But before it finally disappeared it had another recrudescence veiled as Manichaeism, which shows it blended with Christian and Buddhist monachism. Its ultimate disappearance from Iran was due to the Islamic conquest and to the consequent bringing back of the ancient mystic lore of Mazdaism blended with Islamic traditions.⁴¹ No doubt the image-worship associated with the Mithra-cult was repugnant to dogmatic Islam. But the ancient mystic tradition thus restored to the land of its origin blossomed forth later in the wonderful Sufi literature.

We may now consider the main reasons why Mithraism had such wide-spread influence. We have already seen that this cult began to crystallise in the days of mental and moral ferment which succeeded the break up of the greatest Empire of antiquity. The Roman mind which loved law and order and discipline—especially the warrior mind of Rome—was particularly struck by the importance which the Persians attached to their peculiar religious discipline and the rigour with which they carried it out. These Persians were themselves world-conquerors and as such they had realised the value of self-control and discipline and the practical Roman mind clearly recognised the value of this quality in the administration of a vast Empire. Roman religion so far had been orderly and decorous and dignified; their ceremonies were such as would befit the elderly self-important patricians of Rome. But just for this reason it failed to appeal to the masses. These latter were at first carried away by the more primitive and more emotional cults imported from Syria, but when they were brought into direct contact with Mithra-worship they at once realised that it was something they had been thirsting for and groping after for years. Here was a cult of a nation as imperial in its outlook as themselves and it inculcated order and discipline so dear to the Roman heart. Above all it satisfied the “desire for a *practical* religion that would subject the individual to a rule of conduct and contribute to the welfare of the state”.⁴² Mithraism infused fresh life into Roman religion by introducing in it the imperative ethics of Persia—a thing deeply appreciated by a military nation.

Mithra being the Lord of Light and the God of Truth and Justice was always opposed to the Arch-Fiend Ahriman. Hence He was a Guarantor of faith and the Maintainer of the plighted

⁴¹ See note 38 above.

⁴² Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

word. Thus Mithraism exacted loyalty and fidelity from its followers and imposed upon its adherents a code of virtue similar to what we now understand by the word "honor". In addition to this there was engendered an *esprit de corps* and true brotherhood which was a real binding force in such an extensive and heterogeneous Empire like the Roman.

Then there was the ideal of purity. Mithra as the enemy of every kind of impurity stood as a sort of Ideal and Perfect Man. The ceremonies and the various degrees imparted in the ritual all tended to emphasise grade by grade this ideal of purity. One trait pre-eminently distinguishes the Ideal of Mithra as accepted in the Roman Empire and that is His absolute Purity. Osiris has his Isis, and the Semitic Bel-Merodach also had his spouse—but Mithra lives alone,⁴³ a *brahmacâri*.⁴⁴ Mithra is chaste, Mithra is *Sanctus* in the true sense of the term. So instead of the orgies of the cult of Fecundity held at spring-time there was substituted a reverence for continence.

The Zoroastrian teaching of "dualism" made of each individual a soldier in the fight for freedom and hence that religion was "peculiarly favourable for the development of individual effort and human energy" and it was this above all that appealed in Rome to slave and master alike. Resistance to temptations and to the promptings of the lower self were looked upon as exploits in the eternal war and every one was proud to be a soldier of the "God Invincible". Even after death, at the Judgment-bridge Mithra stands up to see justice done to the uttermost and takes the souls of His faithful devotees up to the Regions of Boundless and Eternal Lights.⁴⁵

Above all Mithraism taught the secret of regeneration—of *Frashokerâti*—of being born anew in the Spirit. In short it showed the path of attaining the full stature of one's Divinity and the whole of its ritual was deliberately planned to reach this goal and to indicate the steps by which the Individual finally merged into his Father.

⁴³ It is remarkable that in India the perfect warrior, Bhishma, was a *brahmacâri*; and so was Hanumân, the type of the devoted soldier.

⁴⁴ Anâhita has dropped out completely by that time. The excesses of the cult of Fecundity imported from Syria and elsewhere caused a natural revulsion in favour of continence.

⁴⁵ *anayre raocâo*.

LECTURE V.

LATER ZOROASTRIANISM AND ZOROASTRIANISM
TO-DAY.

According to Parsi tradition there was in Iran at first the Peshdâdî dynasty, which ruled over Iran for many centuries, with a period of foreign domination under Zohak in the middle.¹ When this family had come to a close the Kayânîs succeeded to the throne of Iran, of whom the second monarch was Kai-Kâus (Av. *Kava-Ushan*, Vedic *Kâvya Uşanas*). It was about the middle of this dynasty that at the court of Gushtâsp (Vishtâspa), the son of Lohrâsp, appeared the great Prophet Zarathushtra. The mention of Vedic names like Jamshîd (Av. *Yima-shaēta*, Vedic *Yama*) and Kai Kâus (*Kâvya Uşanas*)² and others leads to a strong presumption that these dynasties flourished during an age contemporaneous with the Veda, and that consequently they were "pre-historic". The *Shâhnâmeh* is our chief authority and source of information about these monarchs and this in its turn is based upon and is supported by the Avestic lists of Iranian Kings.³

But the *Shâhnâmeh* seems to go astray after the advent of Zarathushtra, because the later Kayânians are mixed up with the last Achæmenians and are represented as having been destroyed by Alexander the Great (Sikandar Rûmî). It is really remarkable that the Persian Zoroastrian tradition preserved in the Pahlavi works, and undoubtedly available to Firdawsi, should make no mention of the earlier Achæmenians, Kurush and Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes.⁴ And even the mention of Achæmenian names towards the end of the Kayânian period is strangely confused, except as regards the invasion and the conquest by Alexander of Macedon.

About the events that succeeded the death of Alexander, about the kingdoms established by his generals, and about the

¹ There may be some truth in the suggestion that Zohak may represent some Semitic dynasty which had conquered Iran. But it need not necessarily have been Babylon as Darmesteter thought.

² *Kâvya-Uşanas* was according to Hindu legends the Teacher of the *Asuras*. We may also include *Ishtôva* among these names.

³ Notably in the *Zâm Yašt* (Yt. xix).

⁴ Some of these names, I understand, have been mentioned in other Pahlavi works. But Firdawsi evidently did not make use of them. In any case the main contention here is that the Pahlavi tradition regarding the history of Iran during the Achæmenian period is very confused.

Iranian dynasties in Pontus and Armenia and the great Empire of the Parthians, the *Shāhnāme* is entirely silent. We can understand that national pride might have been hurt at the mention of Greek domination, but it is extremely strange that only a few of the monarchs of Pontus, Armenia and of Parthia should have found mention in the Epic as a race of gallant knights at the court of the Kayānians. The name by which these knights are known—*Pahlawān*—is phonetically the exact equivalent of *Pārthava* (Parthian) and the resemblance between some of the names, like Gûdarz and Gotarzes, is certainly striking.⁵

From the establishment of the Sasanian dynasty up to the Arab conquest the Epic is historically accurate after making due allowance for poetic imagination.

This break in the national memory of Iran deserves some passing notice. It seems exceedingly strange that the glorious Achæmenian Empire should have been so entirely forgotten, that their most striking remains at Persepolis should come to be ascribed to the mythical and pre-historic King Jam (Yama). Such entire oblivion must have been due to some deep-seated causes. One should hesitate before making any general assertions, but we may partly explain this as the natural result of the overthrow of the mightiest Empire of the ancient world, and the consequent mental and moral ferment into which the Iranian world had been thrown. Another reason may have been national pride which led to the forgetting of the Greek successors of Alexander.⁶ A third reason was perhaps the narrow-minded orthodoxy of the Sasanian priesthood who were the traditional custodians of Zoroastrian lore as well as of Iranian (i.e., Zoroastrian) history.

⁵ The *Shāhnāme* describes the period between the death of Alexander and the reign of Ardawân (Artabanus) in only forty lines (Kutar's Gujarati edition, vol. vii, pp. 145-146). There he erroneously mentioned the whole period as covering two centuries instead of five. He mentions a few names and adds that these were not real "Great Kings" but merely petty chiefs (ملوکِ طوایف). In the last two lines he says :

از ایشان جز از نام نشنیده ام . . . نه در نامه خسروان دیده ام

"Of these I have not heard anything except the names, nor have I seen them (mentioned) in the history of the Emperors". It may also be suggested that under the name of *Pahlawāns* Firdawsi really describes some local royal dynasty, who were more the allies of the Imperial house of Iran. Even according to him though they owed obedience to the Shāh, they had their own domains and on many occasions they defied even the great Shāh himself, and left him to save himself as best he could.

⁶ This may be paralleled by the deliberate destruction by the Egyptians of the records of the Semitic race of rulers who had ruled the land for several centuries.

There need be no hesitation in placing the date of the Prophet before the establishment of the Achæmenian dynasty, and perhaps many centuries before that time.⁷ Then again there need be no hesitation in regarding the Achæmenians as Mazda-worshipping Zoroastrians, although they had tolerance enough to worship in the temples of their subjects following other faiths.⁸ It is true that the name of the Prophet is nowhere mentioned in their inscriptions but that is not reason enough to assert that they were not Zoroastrians. A more cogent reason urged against our view is that these monarchs—especially Kurush and Darius—publicly honoured the deities of Babylon and Egypt; but this attitude towards other faiths may have been due partly to “diplomatic reasons”, but much more to a very real tolerance.⁹ The perfectly Zarathushtrian tone of the inscriptions of Darius, and the manly and fervent devotion to Ahura-Mazda made evident in them, leaves no doubt in the mind of the student that Darius was indeed a Zoroastrian. Very probably he was not as narrow-minded and bigoted as the later Zoroastrians (such as are to be found even to-day) who regarded the followers of other faiths as *drvants*.¹⁰ All his severity was directed against *individual* foes and, not towards any race or religion.¹¹ In judging the religion of Darius and others of his race we always make the mistake of taking *modern* Zoroastrian practice as the standard. And it is very probable that the Sasanian priests, who were even more narrow-minded than ourselves, for reason of this very tolerance, put them down as non-Zoroastrians and therefore omitted them from the list of the (Zoroastrian) rulers of Iran.

⁷ See above Lecture II. Some scholars would like to suggest that there were more Zarathushtras than one. There are some good arguments in support of this view, and I myself am a believer in this theory. But in these Lectures I have had in view all along the *first* great Prophet of that name. See my *Religion of Zarathushtra*, pp. 22-23.

⁸ This view has been disputed by many. See the article by Louis Gray on the “Achæmenians” in Hastings’ *Encyclopædia of Religions and Ethics*. But on the other hand Ahl in his *Outlines of Persian History based on the Cuneiform Inscriptions* (pp. 69-78) strongly upholds the view that Darius was a Zoroastrian.

⁹ The character of these two rulers as may be gathered from their inscriptions shows them to be men of high culture with extraordinarily wide sympathies.

¹⁰ Lit. “those who have strayed (from the true path)”. The word had all the opprobrium which the Christians attach to the word “heathen”, or the Moslems to the word “kāfir”, or the Hindus to the word “mleccha”.

¹¹ And even here there is a complete absence of personal feeling or of personal resentment. The punishments, terrible as they appear to us today, were necessary in order to establish his Empire firmly. His respect for the religions of his non-Zoroastrian subjects may be gathered from his treatment of Judæa and Egypt (Ahl, op. cit., pp. 48-49 and 66-68).

Upon the conquest of Iran by Alexander and after the destruction of the library and the archives at Persepolis and elsewhere,¹² the religion of Zarathr'shtra went into temporary obscurity, but the ancient ritual and the ancient doctrines were kept alive by a dynasty of Priest-Rulers at Persepolis.¹³ All through the centuries preceding the establishment of the Sasanian rule these Âthrava-Princes kept alive the ancient Fire; and, as is very likely, out of sheer self-defence they grew narrower in their outlook and more dogmatic in their articles of faith, as well as stricter in their practice.

Another probable centre, where Zoroastrianism was kept alive during these centuries was Bactria. That was the land where the message of the Prophet had been first accepted; and even though the Bactrians had accepted Greek rulers and had adopted Greek ways, the old religion seems to have lingered on there as also in the surrounding lands. As a proof of this statement we may mention some of the coins of that period discovered in Kashmir and elsewhere which bear the images of Zoroastrian Yazatas.¹⁴ There is also the story of the founder of the Parthian dynasty going away to Bactria, and coming in contact with Zoroastrian influences there.

Both Pontus and Armenia remained true to the ancient faith (of course greatly modified and hellenised) in spite of the political and moral ferment going on all around.

The Arsacids are said to have been an Iranian family who had migrated to Bactria and later to have carved out an empire for themselves—the Parthian Empire. About their religion we have but scanty information. Their earlier rulers seem to have followed some sort of religion which was the Zoroastrian faith in its essence, but a great deal modified and changed under foreign (mainly hellenic) influences. These influences seem to grow stronger and stronger towards the middle of the Parthian period, owing in the main to political reasons. The greater part of the

¹² There was a goodly collection of state papers at Ecbatana also. See Ahl, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

¹³ See Huart, *Ancient Iranian Civilisation*, pp. 111 ff., for further details and references.

¹⁴ Some of these are pictured in Maspero's *Passing of Empires*.

¹⁵ This foundation of Zoroastrianism they might have got from Bactria where the founder, Arsaces (Ashka of the *Shâh*,) is said to have sojourned for a time. Lately J. M. Unwalla has published an excellent little monograph on this subject.

strength of these monarchs was derived from their army, which was mainly composed of native Parthians. These were a nomadic race with a religion of their own, in which ancestor worship played a very important part. The worship of Mithra too formed an important ingredient in the religion of the Parthians. In the earlier days it was the Magi who wielded the greatest influence. They had a dominant voice in all the affairs of the state. These, claiming to be the spiritual descendants of Zoroaster, were in a sense the custodians of His teachings among the Parthians during this period and they kept alive many of the ancient traditions. But their influence gradually waned, because the monarchs showed great tolerance towards other forms of belief, especially towards Judaism and early Christianity.¹⁶ The phil-hellenic tendencies of the Parthian monarchs made them copy Greek manners and customs¹⁷ and that predisposed them to be tolerant in matters of religion, more especially towards Christianity.¹⁸

In any case upto the days of Valkhash (Vologeses) I. (A.D. 51-77) the religion of the ruling classes of Iran could not be called pure Zoroastrianism, although the Zoroastrian kernel contained within it persisted. Valkhash began to collect together the scattered remnants of Zoroastrian Scriptures and strove to revive the faith in its ancient form. He and his successors were undoubtedly Zoroastrians, and they were among the earliest to take the first steps in the restoration of the ancient faith.

We may here digress a bit in order to consider the chief influences that had penetrated Iran from the outside and had materially altered the outlook of the people. Then alone can we appreciate at its true worth the restored Zoroastrianism of Sasanian days, and can understand why it differed so much from the message of Zarathushtra contained in the Gâthâs.

We have already tried to consider the Egyptian and Babylonian influences in pre-Achaemenian and Achaemenian days. We have also seen how Greek influences kept on percolating throughout the Achaemenian period and finally after the Macedonian

¹⁶ There were doubtless "diplomatic reasons" for this. In the case of Christianity their pro-Greek tendencies formed certainly a predisposing reason.

¹⁷ A study of Parthian coins is extremely instructive in showing the rise and decline of hellenic influence at that period. Many of these Parthian rulers were great students of Greek language and literature.

¹⁸ Sykes, *op. cit.* pp. 369 f.

conquest flooded the whole of Iran. All these influences were carried through into Parthian times. The Magians and the Âthrava-Princes of Persepolis strove to keep alive the ancient teaching, as far as possible in a state of purity. This pure form of religion was sought to be restored by Valkhash and his successors and by the early Sasanians.¹⁹ But *the religion of the people*, which is ultimately the deciding factor, was certainly not the pure form of the faith of Zarathushtra. And this popular form of Zoroastrianism grows stronger and stronger with the passage of time.

There were two other religious currents that had begun to flow towards Iran during the Parthian days and they both had great influence in the development of Sasanian Zoroastrianism. One of these currents had set in from the East and had begun to flow about the beginning of the Parthian monarchy, while the other flowed in from the West and began about the middle of the Parthian period. The first stream was that of Buddhism, the second that of Christianity.

Buddhism as a state religion began to influence the world from the time of Asoka the Great, Emperor of Magadha. In his missionary zeal Asoka sent his missionaries to all the four quarters of the world, to carry far and wide the Buddha's message of peace and of "the noble eight-fold path". Buddhist missionaries penetrated westwards into Iran; and very soon we find in Kabul, in Bactria and in Eastern Iran strong Buddhistic centres. The freedom from dogma which characterised early Buddhism made it appear not so much a new faith as a fresh philosophy of life which could be accepted even by those who professed other religions.²⁰ Another lot of these missionaries went northwards from India, and working across the Himalayas into Tibet, spread their faith there. Mingling with the primitive and earlier form of worship prevalent there it developed certain startling features, among which may be mentioned a very complex demonology. And Tibetan Buddhism with its weird practices and its hosts of demons, both male and female, also came into Persia, partly directly but mostly through the agency of various nomadic tribes who were closely connected with the Parthians. The former type of Buddhism (*viz.*, that

¹⁹ As has been already remarked above the Zoroastrianism as preserved at Persepolis was necessarily somewhat narrow and dogmatic, for reasons of sheer self-defence.

²⁰ Even to-day anyone can take the *pansil* (*panca-sîla*), i.e., declare his adherence to the five cardinal doctrines of the Buddha and still be free to follow his own religion as well.

which had come direct from India) introduced into Iran the ideas of monasticism, of mortification of the flesh, of non-resistance to evil, and of celibacy.²¹ This was a purely intellectual presentation of Buddhism, and it appealed strongly to the higher classes in Iran. The Tibetan type on the other hand revived the memories of Babylonian demonology, which has never entirely died out. The overwhelming importance of the *Druj-Nasus* in Sasanian times is in a very large measure due to Tibetan Buddhism.

Christian missionaries from the West also had begun to preach in Iran soon after the Crucifixion.²² They strengthened the tendencies towards monasticism, etc., which had already been engendered by Buddhism. So we find henceforth in Iran a growing class of people who devoted themselves more and more to a life of retirement from all worldly strife and of quiet contemplation, rather than of active work in the world. The strong rule of the early Sasanians and the toleration which they displayed helped to foster such tendencies, and many thinkers of repute and several schools of philosophy arose in Iran at that period.²³ Of the latter the schools of Mani²⁴ and Mazdak have left their mark in history, mainly because of the social and political upheaval following their propaganda.

The shifting of the political centre of Iran from one city to another has also not been without influence upon the life and thought of the land. The Achaemenians had their capital at Persepolis, situated in the heart of Pars, the centre of Aryan Iran.²⁵ With the early Parthians the capital and with it the political centre shifted northwards to Hecatompylus, about which we

²¹ Some of these were also practised by the Magi and though Zoroastrianism definitely enjoins marriage and a life of active service, these practices had continued among them in a large measure. Now the new doctrines of Buddhism revived the ancient Magian practice.

²² I here accept the traditional date for this event. Some scholars as is well known, are of opinion that Jesus lived about 100 B.C., in other words that He has been put a hundred years *after* His real date.

²³ The rebirth of Aryan Iran was primarily responsible for all the activities to be seen at that period, whether military, intellectual or spiritual.

²⁴ We have already (Lecture IV) alluded to the connection between the doctrines of Mani and Mithraism.

²⁵ Darius calls himself "a Parsi the son of a Parsi, an Aryan of Aryan lineage".

know very little.²⁶ With the later Parthians and the Sasanians the centre shifts to Ctesiphon,²⁷ very near the site of Ancient Babylon and consequently in the heart of the *Semitic* world. Therefore we find the Semetic influence predominating in the life of Iran all through the Sasanian period, and this made the victory of Semitic Islam comparatively easier. This preponderance of the Semitic element would also account for the growing dogmatism and narrow-mindedness which characterises Sasanian religion. It would also account for the great emphasis laid upon ceremonial purity, upon washings and penances, which form the chief features of the *Vendîdâd*.²⁸

Soon after the establishment of the Sasanians on the throne a very vigorous propaganda by Christian missionaries was begun.²⁹ They were suffered to do so in the beginning, but soon the Roman Empire interfered with what was purely an internal matter for Iran. Constantine not only made Christianity the official religion of his Empire but he declared himself the Protector of all Christians. This unwarranted interference with the sovereignty of the Great King over a section of his own people was deeply resented in Iran, the more so, because Shapur the Great (A.D. 309-379), who was then ruling, "knew that the Christians looked to the Roman Empire, gloried in its success, and were in consequence disloyal to his rule".³⁰

Unfortunately this disloyalty was met with persecution and with wholesale massacres which merely served to stiffen the Christians in their attitude. And this policy also embittered them

²⁶ The Achaemenians had three capital cities, Susa, Ecbatana and Persepolis. They moved about from one to another according to the seasons. But the last-named, the centre of their own People, was necessarily the political centre of Iran in their days.

²⁷ Seleukos Nikator, the General and the first "successor of Alexander" had shifted the capital to Seleukia, a little way from Babylon, which Alexander had made his capital after the burning of Persepolis. The later Parthians shifted from Hecatompylus first to Hatra and then to Ctesiphon on the Tigris and facing Seleukia. These two made up the "twin cities", the *Maddîn* of the Persians.

²⁸ See remarks upon the Semitic type of religion made in Lecture III. The *Vendîdâd* was composed mainly in the Sasanian period as an examination of its language, especially of its syntax, clearly indicates.

²⁹ Sykes (op. cit.) has given an excellent resumé of this affair and of the resulting struggle between the two religions. Though he has very strong Christian sympathies, still he is, on the whole, a fair-minded historian.

³⁰ Sykes, op. cit., p. 414.

against Zoroastrianism and its priesthood³¹. Besides it drove them into secret propaganda and they worked their hardest to undermine the very foundations of Zoroastrian domination. What the Christians actually did will never perhaps be known, but we know that to the Pahlāvi writers the very name *kilis̄yaka* (Christian) was a term of the greatest reproach. They used it to designate the greatest enemies of their faith and of Iran, and they have used it even for Alexander the Great!³²

The extreme rapidity with which the doctrines of Mani and the ultra-Bolshevik theories of Mazdak spread throughout Iran is a fact of the utmost significance. For it points to the steady undermining of the very foundations of Zoroastrianism and of social order in Iran. The complete collapse of the Sasanian monarchy before Islam was due not so much to the fervent valour of the Arabs, as to forces that had been for generations sapping the very life of Iranian society and religion.

Religion in the earlier days of the Sasanians was as pure as it could be expected to be after all the successive influences that had worked upon it. But unfortunately after the first century of Sasanian domination there arose no great leader who could have revived Zoroastrianism or could have united all Iran under his leadership.³³ Instead of reasserting the fundamental truths contained in the *Gāthās* of Zarathushtra, which would have constituted the best answer to the subversive doctrines of Mani and Mazdak, the Zoroastrian priesthood began fierce persecutions not merely of the Christians, but also of all who ventured to go in any particular contrary to the law as they had laid down.³⁴ Added to this growing intolerance and bigotry there was the growth of an endless ceremonial and anti-demon

³¹ History repeated itself in Iran about the middle of the last century when the new religion of the Bāb was sought to be quenched in a sea of blood. The only result was to drive the adherents of the new faith to work secretly. And the net result so far has been the overthrow of the Kajars and a very distinct waning of the influence of Islamic clergy in Persia.

³² Cf. the word *Kərəsāni* (*Yas.* ix. 24) as also my note thereon in *Selections from Avesta and Old Persian*, I. 1, p. 42.

³³ Of course, there is the grand figure of Noshirwan the Just, in many respects the greatest of the Sasanians. But he came too late. The rot that had set in had gone too deep into the very life of the nation, and no human being short of Zarathushtra could have then saved Iran.

³⁴ This is the interpretation I put upon the various punishments inflicted for trifling offences which may occur every day in one's life. The code of the *Vendidad* is petty persecution of an extreme type in many cases.

ritual,³⁵ which soon threatened to replace the ancient faith almost entirely by washings and penances. This and the selfishness and neglect of the nobility led to very rapid and wholesale conversions to Islam after the Arab conquest.³⁶

The Zoroastrians who migrated to India, preferring their faith to their land, were clearly of a more robust conscience than those who embraced Islam. They also had evidently a fuller appreciation of the fundamental truths of their ancient faith, and they had still in their hearts a deep love and veneration for their Prophet. They brought, however, to India the fundamental truths of Zoroastrianism, as also much of the Sasanian ceremonial.³⁷ Necessarily they were a "microscopic minority" among the millions of India, but they were saved from being absorbed by their simple piety, as well as by their strict orthodoxy. It was doubtless the elaborate ceremonial enjoined in the *Vendidad* and actually followed by the Parsis in India till almost the present time that has preserved the community as a unit among the diverse races of this land.

Until the advent of the English we have merely marked time. Except for Nairiyosangh's³⁸ Sanskrit version of our Sacred Books, we do not get any great contribution to our religious literature, made by our people before the beginning of the 19th century. These translations of Nairiyosangh are clearly tinged by Hindu ideas,³⁹ and there is no doubt that during the centuries of sojourn in India the Parsis had grown distinctly Hindu in their beliefs and customs. The Parsis of the early days were mainly agriculturists (who served when needed as soldiers also) and

³⁵ This is the literal meaning of the name *Vendidad* (*vi-daēva-dāta*) the treatise which embodies most of this type of ritual. Linguistic evidence shows it to be clearly a work of a very late period. It seems to have been compiled during the Sasanian times and it certainly dominated Sasanian Zoroastrianism. It contains, however, some very ancient Indo-Iranian myths as well as some very excellent moral precepts. But the greater bulk of the book describes anti-demon washings, penances and prayers. Except in certain parts it is not satisfying to the human heart as a religious text.

³⁶ I do not believe the usual Parsi tale of "the Qurān or the sword". About the replacing of Zoroastrianism in Persia by Islam, I would refer the reader to my book on the *Religion of Zarathushtra*, pp. 141 ff.

³⁷ And whenever they needed guidance with respect to dogma or to ritual they referred the matter to the Zoroastrians left in Iran. The answers received from Persia are embodied in the *Revdyets*.

³⁸ Several writers besides Nairiyosangh have made these translations, but they are collectively spoken of as the works of Nairiyosangh.

³⁹ Cf., for instance, the repugnance of Nairiyosangh to animal food.

hence they did not have many opportunities of imbibing the higher type of Hindu culture, and they rather took up a great many superstitions from the lower classes and the primitive tribes of Gujarat with whom mainly they came into contact.

Upon contact with the West and especially with western learning at the beginning of the 19th century, the Parsis felt as if a new world was opening out before them. And in the first flush of this new learning some eager spirits began the task of reforming the religion, chiefly the ceremonies and the ritual. A good deal of this latter was mistakenly believed to have been due to "Hindu superstition",⁴⁰ whereas really it was a heritage from Sasanian times. The hearts thirsting for the new learning could, of course, find no satisfaction in these old practices and so in their zeal for reform they were eager to go to extremes; but fortunately there was the dead weight of the bulk of the community against this extreme type of reform. Still many of the glaring abuses were remedied.

The generation immediately succeeding the first pioneers of Western learning is in some respects the most important in the history of our community. It found its task of reform much easier because the higher classes had already tasted the new learning and were quite eager to begin; besides, the community as a whole was much better educated by that time and was rapidly advancing to the present position of universal literacy. Translations from European (mostly English) writers on every conceivable subject were undertaken and thus the ground was prepared for the introduction of 19th century materialism, also called "rationalism", amongst us. In this generation we have two great leaders, K. R. Cama and K. N. Kabraji.

Camaji sacrificed a very lucrative career of commerce to the cause of religion and learning. He was the father of Avestan scholarship among the Parsis. He was the first to draw the attention of the Parsis to the necessity of *understanding* their faith rather than accepting it on authority. He himself, though of a deeply religious turn of mind, was by training a rationalist. He strove to give a "rational and scientific" explanation of many of our beliefs and ceremonies. Most of the present generation of Parsi Iranists are in a sense the intellectual progeny

⁴⁰ The zeal of these early reformers unfortunately transferred the dislike of "Hindu superstition" to a contempt, scarcely concealed, for the Hindus as a race. Ever since that period the Parsis have had a prejudice against the "Vâniâs". This has been productive of a great deal of bad blood between those who ought to have been brothers in a very real sense.

of Camaji. His own pupils in Avesta and Pahlavi did great pioneer work and made the community realise the worth of its great spiritual heritage.

Kabraji worked mainly for social reform. His chief claim to remembrance was his work for womankind. Both Camaji and Kabraji worked hand in hand for many years, in spite of ridicule and something far worse. The former was of a quieter nature and moderate, though firm and dignified in the expression of his views; he was, moreover, extremely tenacious and persevering. Kabraji had, indeed, all the tenacity and the firmness and the dignity of his great co-worker, but unlike him he could never keep his language under restraint. This set up violent oppositions against him and he suffered personally for his temerity. But the Parsi community never had another such friend and critic, so sincere, so outspoken and so utterly fearless.

The next to take up the task of reforming the community and to lead it aright were the much maligned Theosophists. They were in their turn carried away by the grand vistas opening before their vision. Brought up as most of them were either in very bigoted households or in ultra-rationalistic surroundings, many of them went to the other extreme and indeed became more than lukewarm towards their own faith.⁴¹ The charge levelled against Theosophists that they are more Hindus than Zoroastrians has some truth in it. And those who have been attracted to the great Master, Zarathushtra, have striven to see nothing but good in *all* the sacred literature that has come down to us. Naturally this calls forth a smile on the face of the Avesta student. In spite of all these defects they have done a signal service to the Parsi community at a very critical juncture; they have stemmed the tide of "rationalism" which at one time threatened to completely engulf all that remained of Zoroastrianism. "Rational" explanations of Scholars and their learned commentaries are of scarcely any use to the average man whose heart is thirsting for the divine message. This thirst of the heart the Theosophist has been trying to quench; and though very often his scholarship is faulty, and his language ungrammatical, still he has the power of touching the human heart which the scholar with all his learning cannot achieve. They

⁴¹ These good people seem to have forgotten the fundamental maxim that "Theosophy does not require a man to leave his faith but to live it." I may here make a personal confession that I am myself a Theosophist by training, by intellectual acceptance, as well as by the dictates of my heart.

⁴² Lecture II.

have their hearts in the right place and this has led many of them intuitively to point out the right direction. But the greatest service Theosophy has performed for us has been to show us that the Eternal Truths are not the monopoly of any one religion; they have taught our people to respect the religions of their neighbours. And thus while they have led us back to our own religion, they have made us less bigoted and more brotherly.

The Ancient Sages have pointed out to us the three methods of treading the Path to God : the Path of Knowledge, the Path of Devotion and the Path of Service. These three are not mutually exclusive, rather all three methods have to be blended in equal measure in order to attain perfection. Our Parsi community has had these three pointed out to it separately uptil now. Camaji pointed out the Path of Knowledge, Kabraji pointed out the path of Service, while Theosophy strove to lead us along the Path of Devotion. Extremes along any of these methods lead to aberrations. True salvation lies in maintaining a well-balanced equipoise between the three, by taking the best in each and avoiding the extremes. What we need at present is not Avesta scholars and Theosophists and Social reformers reviling each other in print, but a group of students who while developing their Intellect are also eager for Service of the community and at the same time never falter for a moment in their heartfelt devotion to the great Master Zarathushtra.

RECENT IRANIAN RESEARCHES BY EUROPEAN SCHOLARS.

Translated and abridged by

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[The Institute has arranged with Mr. J. C. Tavadia, B.A., of the Hamburg University, that he may send for the Journal a half-yearly and yearly report about the articles and books on Iranian subjects published in French, German and other languages.—*Editor.*]

1. On the date and birth-place of Zoroaster.
2. On the composition and the teachings of the *Gâthâ*.
3. On the eastern and western development of the religion.
4. On some persons and places mentioned in the Avesta.

These subjects are treated in the following works :

Hertel, (Prof. Dr.) Johannes. *Die Zeit Zoroasters*. Leipzig, H. Haessel, 1924. P. 63.

——— *Achaemeniden und Kayaniden*. Ibid. P. 103.

——— *Die Methode der arischen Forschung*. Ibid. P. 80.

Meillet, (Prof. Dr.) A. *Trois conférences sur les Gâthâ de l'Avesta*, Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1925. P. 72.

Christensen, (Prof. Dr.) Arthur. *Quelques notices sur les plus anciennes périodes Zoroastrisme*. (From *Acta Orientalia* 4. 81-115).

Bartholomae, (Prof. Dr.) Christian. *Zarathustra's Leben und Lehre*. Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1924. P. 19. [As this lecture has been translated into English its summary will not be given.]

The first three volumes belong to the *Indo-Iranische Quellen und Forschungen* series. The object of this series is to attain a sure and certain basis for the correct interpretation of the *Vade*

and the *Avesta*. And for achieving this the author would first remove the screen that conceals the facts. The tradition leads us only to a blocked up way, he says, and hence he would not take it into account, but only the texts which are to be investigated and contemporary and earlier sources. The tradition, inasmuch as it corroborates the results arrived at, will be referred to, for getting light on dark points it will not be depended upon. Again as regards the *Avesta* clear distinction must be made between what comes from Zaratustra himself and what the Magian has taught under the cloak of his name. And as regards the *Rgveda*, since a majority of its hymns are composed at a time when the emigration of the different tribes was not completed, one must investigate what belongs to the individual tribes and what is the common property of them all. Then as the first thing, the date and the place of these works must be fixed. Secondly the nature of the general view of the world and life running through them must be ascertained,—which depends upon the climatic and other conditions. In this connection it is wrong to take it for granted that the home of the *Rgveda* is India; it will be shown that a part thereof is composed in Iran.

The first book deals with the date of Zaratustra. Herodotus (c. 500 B.C.) does not mention him directly or indirectly in his account of the Persians. Again he designates their priests Magians, not *airyaman* or *âthravan* as in the *Avesta*. And what he describes as the religion of the Persians is not at all similar but rather contrary to what the prophet has taught; the former is only the Indo-European nature religion including animal sacrifice, etc., plus some Magian characteristics which are reintroduced in the *Later Avesta*. This shows that in his days the old Magian religion was still superme in Persia; and that Zaratustra must have been unknown in the wider circles of its population, and therefore cannot have flourished long before the reign of Xerxes I, when Herodotus is supposed to have travelled there. The inscriptions of the Achaemenians support this hypothesis: Darius is the first to invoke *Ahura-mazdâh*, and the way in which he refers to Him, especially the exhortation in the *Načš-i-Rustama*, shows according to the author, that he was a recently proclaimed God. And therefore Vištâspa, declared in the *Gâdâ* as the patron prince of Zaratustra, can be safely identified with Vištâspa, mentioned in the inscriptions as the father of Darius. The former is called *kavi*, a word meaning a king or a prince in more than one place, but only in this case taken as the name of a dynasty,—a supposition as unnecessary as unjustifiable.

The second book further deals with the so-called *Kavi* dynasty, and its genealogy supposed to be found in the *Yašt* 13 and 19. But since in the former Vištâspa is not mentioned with and after the other *kavis* in 132, but long before them in 99, and since his father and grandfather are altogether omitted, there is no question of genealogy in it. In the second case Zaratûstra occurs between the other *kavis* and Vištâspa whose immediate forefathers are again absent. Here too no genealogy can have been meant by the author. Hertel explains away the fact of Vištâspa being called the son of Aurvatâspa in *Yašt* 5. 105 by calling the *Yašt* to be late and by placing the statement in the same category as other attempts at his genealogy. At the same time he finds a proof for his theory from the same *Yašt* 98 where Vištâspa is styled a descendant of Naotara. The literal meaning of this word is "younger,"—though Bartholomae doubts this,—and hence it is taken by some scholars as a suitable designation of his grandfather Ariyâramna (Ariaramnas), because he was the younger son of Cišpiš (Teispis). Further the data given in the *Bundahišn* 34. 7-8 together with the identification of Vahuman with Artaxšahr (Artaxerxes) in the *Vahuman Yašt* 2. 17—[cf. also the *Great Bundahišn* 118 a 11]—are taken as fragments that would construct an unbroken Achaemenian period, not the so-called *Kavi* or Kayanian period. In the *Bundahišn* 31. 25 Siyavaxs, who never came to the throne, is not called *kay*, i.e., *kavi*, which shows that the term does not mean a dynasty of that name, but only a 'king,' [as often in modern Persian]. From the points not connected with the problem the following may be noted. The author declares (first volume p. 58, 62) that in the *Rgveda devanidāḥ* "reviler of the Deva" refers to Zaratûstra and his followers, so also in some cases *brahmadvis* "hater of the brāhman." In the other volume the following theories of Hüsing are discussed and rejected; that Aurvat-aspa is Oropastes, a brother of Gaumâta (Justin 1. 9) that Spōnto-dâta is the first or private name of Darius; that Artabanos and Artaphernes, sons of Hystaspes, are Aterâvanu and Aterax'arēnah of *Yašt* 13. 102; that Pourušti of 114 is Parysatis; and that Kurouš i.e., Cyrus, her beloved son, is dropped before *kavoiš* in 119. The same is done with the theory of W. Schulz, who brings the flight of *Aši*, *Yašt* 17. 55-56, in correspondence with that of Dike in Phainomena of Aratos 101-134. *Aši's* complaint here against the *Turas* and the *Naotaras* is considered by Hertel as a direct hint against Darius because of his severe treatment of the Magians who have avoided any mention about him for the same reason. [The latter point may or may not be true; as for the complaint it may be a note of a pacifist, denouncing the fighting

parties, irrespective of nation and religion.] In this connection it may be noted that Hertel sees in *Yasna* 53. 8, 9 a reference to the Magian revolt, to put down which and "be soon the greatest" the prophet entreats Vištâspa, but Darius takes the hint and achieves what we know as history. Hutaosâ does not belong to the Naotara family, as is concluded from *Yašt* 15. 35-36, because she can have offered her sacrifice in her husband's place to win his love and favour, and not in her father's [which latter is not likely, when we just bear in mind the state of the then society.] Perhaps the author stretches the point too far when he says that we are not to conclude from Hutaosâ's prayer that she was the wife of Vištâspa,—the reference is made to him as the head of the family.

In the last book Hertel replies to his critics, especially to Professors Clemen of Bonn, Keith of Edinburgh and Carpentier of Upsala. We note the chief points. The evidence of Xanthos runs that it was 6000 years from Zoroaster upto the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. Some of the Mss. read 600, and as it supports the favourite date "about 1000 B. C." some scholars are prone to adopt it. But this other reading is worthless, because 6000 is the usual number in Greek authors. Again just before this evidence is quoted, we read the other one, that 5000 years before the fall of Troy is the date of Zoroaster. Hertel further shows that the evidence of Xanthos does not come from the fifth but earliest from the end of the fourth cent. B. C., because in close connection with the date of Zoroaster it is added that a number of Magians came after him till Alexander the Great destroyed the Persian empire. Also in the story of Croesus by Nikolaos of Damascus there is nothing of Xanthos that refers to Zaratustra. As regards the tile inscription of Assurbanipal Hertel shows that Hommel was wrong in reading therein *assara mazâš*. This is said to be an earlier form of *Ahura Mazdâh*, but there cannot be an earlier form, because it came into being long after the *Gâthâ*, where the use of *Mazdâh* is not bound with *Ahura* but is quite free. Again there are phonetical difficulties. Hertel here declares that Zaratustra fights against Aryan gods one and all, placing *Mazdâh* "the Understanding" as ruler over all. There was no god named *Mazdâh* before Zaratustra.

Meillet accepts the native traditional date which is a little before the time of the great Achaemenians, and adds that the political revolution was preceded by the religious one, and that both arose from a common cause. The *Gâthâs* clearly show that in those days a political leader was earnestly and eagerly wished

for the protection in religious and economical matters. The Indo-Iranian system of government was still in vogue; i.e., every clan had its own chief without any central authority. The system of central power was first introduced by Darius, and thus was fulfilled the wish expressed in the *Gâthâ*. Meillet, unlike Hertel, does not positively assert the identity of Vištâspa of the *Gâthâ* and that of the Old Persian inscriptions, but admits that such an identification is not excluded, though the name must be very common in those days. As regards Darius Meillet does not believe that he was a follower of Zaratûstra, because he re-established the altars of sacrifice, etc., which Gaumâta had destroyed. For this reason and because the name contains the word *gau*, so prominent in the *Gâthâ*, the latter must be a follower of the prophet, adds the author.

Meillet does not consider the language of the *Gâthâ* to be far older than that of the Old Persian inscriptions, although he takes into account the different forms in which the Iranian God appears in the *Gâthâ*, the *Later Avesta*, and the Old Persian inscriptions. What he says about the relative position of the first two from the linguistic point of view is very important. Though the *Later Avesta* dialect is in a more developed stage than the *Gâthâ* one, the former preserves some archaisms which are lost or are on the point of being lost in the latter. Then one is not the continuation or the descendant of the other. The *Later Avesta* vocabulary is more true to the common Indo-Iranian one than the *Gâthâ* one is, which, for instance, contains quite another nomenclature for the three classes of the then society: *airyaman*, *xšaeta*, and *vərəzēna* instead of *âhravan*, *raçaêštar*, and *vâstrya fšuyant* respectively [*vâstrya* alone is used also in the *Gâthâ*. Though not for this difference but for another difference, viz., in the names of gods Bartholomae says in his *Zarathuštara's Leben und Lehre*, p. 13, that the prophet chose new or uncommon names with the intention of making the gods appear as new ones and of effacing the recollection of old ones. This theory does not hold good in the present case].

As for the birth-place of the prophet Meillet again accepts the native tradition which puts it in western Iran, and sometimes gives the very place, viz., Rayâ, modern Rae near Teheran. He supports this data with linguistic facts. The language of the *Avesta* in general and of the *Gâthâ* in particular resembles those of the western group, whereas it differs from those of the eastern provinces like Sogdiana and Khotan. This theory is not excluded by the hypothesis, based upon the geographical data

found in the *Avesta* that the latter has arisen in eastern Iran ; it can be said that its authors have used their own dialect and not that of the locality where they worked and preached. [Christensen explains this anomaly differently in his above mentioned article as we shall see below.]

As regards the composition of the *Gāthā* the following may be noted from what Meillet says. The *Gāthā* and also the *Later Avesta* metre differs from the Vedic one in two important points. In the *Veda* the quantity is observed in certain definite places ; whereas this is not the case in the *Avesta*. The Greek verse agrees with the Vedic one, and hence it is very probable that that was also the Indo-European system, and that the innovation lies on the part of the *Avesta*. And Meillet brings this in connection with those cases where a long vowel in open penultima is shortened, when an enclitic particle or a secondary suffix is added to the word, e.g., *dāmānam* but *demanahyā*, *čašwārō* but *čašwarasča*. The second point of difference is about the cesura which is free in the *Veda*, as it was in the Indo-European period, but its place is fixed in the *Avesta*. The author declares that the strophes of the *Gāthā*, unlike those of a Vedic hymn, are not closely connected with one another, because the intervening prose pieces—as found in other literatures—are lost. Bartholomae's attempt to read a connective account from them as also to translate all, even where no translation is possible, is declared as forced. Meillet illustrates his standpoint by discussing *Yasna* 29.

As regards the teaching of the *Gāthā* the author does not see dualism therein ; though they sharply note the opposition of good and evil, they do not know an evil power forming a pendant to *Ahura Mazdāh*. The Vedic religion is that of conquering aristocrats, the *Gāthā* one is that of oppressed husbandmen and herdsmen. These see in the apparent abstractions real and material powers through which they directly or indirectly subsist. For instance the cultivator gets his needs through *Armaiti*, i.e., through obedience to his master or the mother earth ; and the aristocrat through *Tarōmaiti*, i.e., through oppression.

Christensen has to say the following on the birth-place of Zaratuštra. The *Avesta* connects him with Airyana vaêjah, the correct pronunciation of which according to Andreas is Aryâna vyôçah, cf. Vedic *vyacas* 'wide space.' Marquart [who now writes his name Markwart] identified this locality with Choras-mia because the latter is characterised as the coldest country

by native geographers, *Ērānšahr* p. 155, and because the *Vendīdād* 1. 3 says the same about the former in so many words. Andreas has come to the same conclusion but on other grounds. Again the lake Kōsavya, i.e., Kāsaoya is so described in *Yast* 19 that there is no doubt about its being the lake Hamun ; and this plays some part in a legend about Zaratuštra. This too supports the said identification. Later on when the centre of the Arsacide empire turned eastwards Ērān vēž was transferred to Āturpātākān, *Bundahšna* 29. 12. [The words are *pa kust i āturpātākān* which may have the same sense here as in the *Sahrastān i Ērānšahr* 58, viz., 'in the northern region' of the empire, and hence it is hazardous to identify with or limit to the modern province of Azerbaijan. It is true that a little below the phrase *pa kust i apāxtar* 'in the northern region' is used, but that alone would not exclude the common meaning of *pa kust i āturpātākān*.

As to the argument brought forward by Tedesco in his article *Dialektologie der westiranischen Turfantexte* that the home of the *Avesta* must be western Iran, because it shows the peculiarities of the dialects of that region, Christensen says that the western, viz., the Median editors of the *Avesta* can be held responsible for those peculiarities. He is convinced that the home must be in eastern Iran, because the state of civilisation and the nature of religious and economical struggle as depicted in the *Avesta* speak decidedly for the east : the fight is against the nature religion of the Iranian nomads, not against the Semitic civilisation of the west ; nor does the book show any influence of the latter. He adds that the economical conditions referred to in the *Gāthā* correspond to those of Sogdiana, Farghana and Bactria, hardly of Choasmia.

Coming to the date of the prophet Christensen declares that it is futile to base any theory on the contradictory accounts of the Greeks or on the native chronology which is a product of theological speculation. According to this a future prophet is expected at the end of a thousand years after Zaratuštra, and his advent is to be preceded by some great trouble. The latter is placed 300 years before Alexander, and the foundation of the Sasanian empire 260 years after. Since as a matter of fact the latter event took place after 556 years after Alexander, Christensen suggests that the period has been purposely shortened, namely for removing the end of the millennium, and therewith the end of the Sasanian empire, some centuries further, and he adds that with the same object the period between Zaratuštra

Again the *Gāthās* were not put down in writing, when the great emigration began, and their oral tradition could not be preserved by the western tribes who found themselves in a very different and a far superior civilisation. It is also no wonder that the remembrance of the prophet did not remain there alive as in the east, where not only his words were preserved but religious evolution as embodied in the *Yāšt* was carried on. [The hypothesis that the western Iranians were Zoroastrians, although they did not preserve his words nor even his name is not sound. The changed conditions could not have effaced all traces about him, unless it could be shown that the people changed their religion. Even if we have to admit the higher antiquity of the prophet, *viz.*, about 1000 B. C., this hypothesis need not be pressed; it can be said that these tribes had not accepted the new religion, when they still were in the east.]

The eastern origin of the *Yāšt* literature is evident from the geographical references occurring therein. Thus in *Yāšt* 10. 13 *Miθra* is said to review from the mountain Harā the Aryan settlements which are described in 14 thus: "where the valiant rulers arrange many an assault, where the high mountains, rich in pastures and water, nourishment (?) for the cattle thrive, where the deep lakes with vast waters stand, where the navigable, broad rivers rush with streaming waves towards Iškata and Pouruta, towards Mouru and Haroyu, towards Gava (*i.e.*) Suyša and Xvâirizam." Iškata and Pouruta are not definitely identified; Bartholomae takes them even as common nouns: "crag and rock." [Wolff's *Avesta*; but not so certain in the *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* 376, 900.] The other places are certain; Mouru is Margiana, the Merv oasis; Haroyu is Aria, Herat; [Bartholomae takes it unnecessarily as an adj. to the preceding;] Gava is Sogdiana [as the explanatory interpolation and the *Vendidad* 1. 4 tell us;] Xvâirizam is Chorasmia, the Khiva oasis. By Harā we are to understand here the chain of Paropamisos, Pamir. And the rivers referred to are the Oxus, the Murghab, the Zarafshan and the Harirud. The *Vendidad* 1 mentions these and other eastern countries, but this chapter is composed according to Andreas in the Parthian period, under Mithridates I. Therefore one can say that the passage quoted is similarly late. But there is nothing to show that the passage is an interpolation, and to say that the whole *Yāšt* is of that late date is a hard thing because of its style, etc. Again the omission of Bactria is no less significant, which could not have been left off, if the passage were composed in Parthian times, when it was an important province. On the other hand Bactria was a mere

part of Margiana before Darius and even in the first years of his reign ; only later on he made it a satrapy, and then it became a principal country, Margiana being annexed to it. This fact also speaks for the higher antiquity of the passage in question. The same *Yāšt* refers to eastern and western India, i.e., the territory on both coasts of the Indus, in 104. *Yāšt* 19. 66-68 refers to Sistān very intimately : it mentions the lake Kōsavya—i.e., Kāsaoya—which is Hamun, and the rivers Haētumant, which is Etymānder or Hilmend, Fradaṣā, which is Phrādos or Farah-rud, Xvarnahavatī, which is Pharnocatis or Hari-rud, and Xvāstrā, which is Khashrud. The spirit of the *Yāšt* literature is aggressive, which points to the conquering zeal of the missionary. Hence it is quite natural that in some of its parts we find references to western localities also. *Yāšt* 5 refers to the lake Caêcast, Urmia in Azerbaijan, (49), to the mountain Harā (21-22), which is not the eastern one as in *Yāšt* 10, but the western one which separates Mazendāran and Gilan from the central Iranian plateau, and to Bawri (29), Babylon, which is given as the home of Aži Dahāka. All this, especially the connection of the mythical figure, inimical to the good creation, with the capital of the Semitic rulers, the enemies of the western Iranians, suggests that this *Yāšt* must have been composed in Media. This means that its date must be fixed after the relation of the eastern missionaries with the western population was established. Its composition in Media does not mean that its dialect is Median ; it is the usual *Later Avesta* one. The composer can be one of these missionaries, or one of their pupils who must have mastered this dialect, which as we know remained the religious tongue still longer. Christensen observes that just as the meek and only defensive spirit of the *Gāthā* has been replaced by the martial and aggressive policy of the *Yāšt*, the *Aməša Spənta* of the former are suffered to survive only, and are nothing as compared to the mighty *Yazata*.

After the contact with the eastern missionaries, the Magians commanded supremacy in matters religious, because of their acquaintance with the superior civilisation of the west. They were however not slow in adopting eastern customs, e.g., that of the burial, and tried to introduce them in Persia where they carried on priestly functions.

The Old Persian inscriptions, says Christensen, contain enough data to prove that the religion of the Persians was not different from that of the other Iranians. As for the omission of any reference to the *daēva* he considers it quite natural, because the

non-Zoroastrians in western Iran were not *daēva* worshippers, as was the case in eastern Iran. As to the tolerance or even regard of the Achæmenians for other religions we must not forget that the latter were not so low as to be summarily denounced like the religion of the eastern nomads. Again political considerations must have played a great part in the matter. The innovation of Artaxerxes II, viz., the inclusion of *Miθra* and *Anāhitā* beside *Ahura-mazdāh*, is a mere official recognition of the god long known in the country, and of the goddess which too was worshipped by the people in the days of Herodotus. *Anāhitā* shows the influence of Babylonian *Ištar*, and the whole innovation seems to be a copy of the Semitic conception of the father god, mother god, and son god. It is not without interest to note that *Mihr* is called the son of *Armazd* in Armenian.

5. On the Yima legend as related in the *Vendîdād* 2.

6. On heavenly bodies.

These subjects are dealt with in

Hertel, (Prof. Dr.) Johannes : *Die Himmelstore im Veda und im Avesta*. Leipzig, H. Haessel. 1924. P. 68.

That the second chapter of the *Vendîdād* contains the Iranian version of the Deluge common in Semitic, Greek, and Indian literatures is the opinion prevailing among the specialists from Kohut onwards. But Hertel declares it as absolutely wrong, because all the characteristic points of the myth are conspicuous by their absence in the said chapter. There is missing every hint about the destruction of even a single creature. We do not hear about the ship that delivers all from the Deluge, nor about the passing away of the latter, nor about the touching of the former at a high mountain. And lastly there is no mention about the restoration of the world after the Deluge. The analysis of the chapter in question will show this all.

A §§ 1-5 Introduction : Yima declines to be the propagator of the religion, but accepts the office of the protector and increaser of the world.

B §§ 6-19 Golden Age : as there was neither death nor sickness but only increase among the creatures, there remained no room for them on the earth. Hence its expansion through Yima.

C §§ 20-24 Creation of the Winter : *Ahura Mazdāh* informs Yima about the coming of the winter and its terrible consequences in the world.

D §§ 25-38 Construction of and Colonisation in the *vara*.

E §§ 39-41 } Conditions in the *vara* described in faulty lan-
 F §§ 42-43 } guage, and hence the same are later interpola-
 } tions.

What is now the *vara* ? It is said in 30 “*apiča tēm varēm marəza dvarēm raočanəm x^vāraoxšnəm antarə-naēmāt* and set to the *vara* a door luminous and self-shining from within.” Geldner would omit the last word [and some translate *raočanəm* by a window,] but that does not affect the point at issue. The deciding word is *x^vāraoxšnəm* ‘self-shining,’ which points to the sun, and hence *vara* means the firmament. The author quotes *Yasna* 57.21 where the deciding term occurs along with stars and the ‘mountain’ Hara : “*haraibyo paiti barəzayā x^vāraoxšnəm antarə-naēmāt stəhrpaesəm ništaranaemāt* “on the high Harati (is *Sraoša*’s house) self shining from within, star-adorned from without.” He further refers to *Yašt* 12.25 where it is said that the sun, moon and stars move round the Harati ; and to *Yašt* 10.142 where the same word ‘self-shining’ occurs as an epithet of the moon. All this shows the correctness of the interpretation. Besides this the author quotes *R̥gveda* 7. 88. 5 and 8. 63. 1 where parallel ideas occur. The sense attached to *vara* from the context, etc., finds support from other direction ; in the *R̥gveda* *vala* means ‘firmament’ ;—hence the base is *vara*, not *var* as Bartholomae gives ;—and the root is *vṛ* [*Avesta* *var*, *vərə*] ‘to surround, to cover.’ The three divisions of the *vara* are supposed to be side by side, but in the *R̥gveda* 10.67.4-5 they are one upon the other. When all this is ascertained, there remains no doubt that the *Vendidad* account refers not to the myth of the Deluge but to that of Yama’s conducting the first dead into heaven. Hence also it is clear why Yima is said to have marched towards the lights,—i.e., towards the firmament,—and towards the path of the sun,—i.e. towards the east—in 10 etc., where *upa rapitvām* ‘towards the midday, i.e., towards the south’ is to be removed, as it disturbs the metre as well as the sense. Its translation “at midday” by Bartholomae cannot be correct because of the mention of the lights,—stars. The last sections, though later additions, show that the real nature of the account or at least of the *vara* was then still known.

The coming of the terrible winter means only the end of the Golden Age. There is no talk of destruction through it; Bartholomae's interpretation of 24 is wrong: not the one-third of the cattle passes away (from life), but from the three places—mentioned in the passage—will they go to some strong abodes. [*θριζατ* can well mean 'three-fold'; "from the three places" of the Pahlavi version, also adopted by others, is a free translation.] Hertel adds that in the Aryan myth there was, instead of the winter, the sinking of the earth on account of the over population. This fact is preserved in the *Mahābhārata* 3. 142. 35ff., where the later part, viz., the account of the earth being held up by *Viṣṇu*, instead of its burden being removed by Yama through leading the dead to heaven, is not original, as can be concluded from the same work 12.255.15—257.38, where the creation of death is given as the means of removing the burden of the earth. The change in the *Vendidad* shows a dogmatic motive; [and it is also influenced by the climatic condition]. A similar change is to be seen in 28 in the words "as long as these people will be in the *vara*," by which the sensual pleasures in it were restricted to a limited time, because the idea of their being eternal, i.e., in heaven would be repugnant to the *Mazdāh* worshipper. This is not at all a clever addition. Hertel points out a number of them, e.g., 7 and the words *avi mat . . ajyamnəm* in 26 and 34, [also marked as such in Wolff's *Avesta*.]

The author further shows from the *Rigveda* the idea that the firmament with its openings i.e., the sun, etc., moves itself; and quotes from various Sanskrit works such passages as refer to the heavenly bodies as the openings in the firmament; and adds a note on *Āprī* songs, especially regarding the same point. Stars are also called rain givers, for which the parallel passages from the *Avesta* are fully given, viz., those that contain *afšōčībra* as the epithet of the stars. *Yāšt* 8 is of special interest in this respect. It contains some four versions of how *Tištrya* fights in order to produce rain; they are 8-9, 10-34, 39-40, 45-47. The first part of the first, and the last are original, in which the sea Vourukaša appears as situated in heaven, and when it is flooded, water comes down as rain.

In the appendix of the following work is given the translation of *Vendidad* 2, and are discussed its contents especially with reference to the *vara*.

Lommel (Prof. Dr.) Herman. *Die yāšt's des Avesta*. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1927. p. 211.

This work, on which the author was engaged since 1914, contains a translation of all the *Yast* pieces with special introductions to them besides a general one, with grammatical and exegetical notes, and with the list of names and an index. For the present we are concerned with the appendix only.—Lommel agrees with Hertel that the chapter in question does not contain the Iranian version of the Deluge, but differs from him that it preserves the myth of Yama's leading the first dead into heaven. He closely follows the text as it is, and says that to save the righteous [not so in the text] from the evils of winter the *vara* was formed, and hence this can be only a subterranean cave, which in its term explains the reference how it was made, *viz.*, by removing the earth. Again the cave suits better with the "first, middle, and lowest" parts of the *vara*, their size being also in descending order. His explanation about the "self-shining door" is this that the stone at the mouth of the cave radiates light, in support of which he quotes a German legend. For some incongruities Lommel says that the *vara* is a sort of paradise—not according to Zoroastrian or Aryan ideas, but according to some popular Iranian belief.

THE TRANSLATION OF AN EXTRACT FROM MAFÂTÎH AL-'ULÛM OF AL-KHWÂRAZMÎ.

BY J. M. UNVALA, PH.D.

The following extract from Al-Khwârazmî Liber Mafâtih Al-Olûm--edidit G. Van Vloten, Lugduni-Batavorum 1895, (11^e-12^e) contains an interesting list of Persian, Turkish and Indian words which occur in works of Arab historians. As Arabic is not rich enough in sounds to represent all those which these three languages possess, the words borrowed from them undergo such violent changes in the mouth of an Arab, that they wander very far from their original form. These changes, however, take place according to certain hard and fast rules, which, in case of Persian words, have been systematised and explained by A. Siddiqi in "Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch", Göttingen 1919. Again, the Arabs formed the plural of foreign words of four syllables generally

on the bases of فَعَالِلَةٌ, e.g., مَوَزَبَان, مَوَزَبَةٌ etc., as if they were pure Arabic words. I have not intended in this article to explain these foreign words from the standpoint of phonetics, but only from that of pure linguistics.

A LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES.

BTHL.—CHRISTIAN BARTHOLAMAE.

AirWb.—Altiranisches Wörterbuch. Strassburg 1904.

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١١٤ الفصل السادس في الفاظ يكثر جريها في اخبار الفرس

المَرَّازِبَةُ جمع المرزبان و هم ما وراء الملوك و هم
ملوك الاطراف و مرز هو اللحد بالفارسية و مرزبان هو
صاحب اللحد و كانت الفرس تسمى صاحب النهر اعنى
جيكون مرز توران اى حد الترك و كان اهل خراسان
يسمونه مرز ايران اى حد العراق خراسان تفسيره المشرق
و خرباران هو المغرب و نيمروز هو مهب الجنوب
لأن الشمس تسامته نصب النهار و آذربادكان هو
١١٥ مهب الشمال و آذر من شهور الشتاء و باد هو الريح
و معناه مهب ريمح الشتاء ثم عربت الكلمة فصيرت
آذربيجان الدرفش معرب من درفش كابيان و الدرفش
هو العلم و كان اسم الرجل الذى خرج على الضحاك
حتى قتله افريدون كابي و كان علم كابي من جلد دب
و يقال من جلد اسد و كان يعيّن به ملوك الفرس
فغشوه بالذهب و رصعوه بالجوهر الثمينة الأساور جمع
الأسوار و هو الفارس لأن العجم لاتضع اسم اسوار الآعلى

- الرجل الشجاع البطل المشهور سورستان السواد و اليها
ينسب السريانيون وهم النبط بغستان بيت الاصنام و
و بَغ هو الصنم و بذلك سُميت بغداد اى عطية الصنم
116 على ما حكى عن الاصمعي و لذلك يسمون الملك
بَغ و هكذا الامام و السيد و به سُمى ملك الصين بَغ
بور اى ابن الملك و قال ابن درستويه فى كتابه تصحيح
الفصيح اخطأ الاصمعي فى ما ذكر من اشتقاق بغداد ان
لم تكن الفرس عبدة اصنام انما هو باغ داد و باغ هو البستان
و داد هو اسم رجل و هذا من ابن درستويه اختراع
كاذب و خطأ فاحش فان بَغ عند الفرس هو الاله و السيد
و الملك و كانوا يعظمون الاصنام و يتبركون بها و يسمون
الصنم بَغ و بيت الاصنام بَغستان و لعمرى ان الفرس
كانوا يعبدونها و يصورونها على صورة الملوك و الائمة و لعل
بغداد هى عطية الملك الموبد قاضى الماكوس و موبدان
موبد قاضى القضاة الهريذ خادم النار و الجمع هرايدة
و من لغات الفرس الفهلوية و بها كان يعبرى كلام الملوك
117 فى مجالسهم و هى لغت منسوبة الى بهله و بهله اسم
يقع على خمسة بلدان اصفهان و الري و همذان و ماء

نهاوند و آذربيجان و من لغات الفارسية و كان يحكى
 بها كلام الموابذة و من كان مناسباً لهم و هى لغة كور فارس
 و الدريّة لغت اهل مدن المدائن و بها كان يتكلم من بباب
 الملك فى منسوبة الى حاضرة الباب و الغالب عليها
 من بين لغات اهل المشرق لغة اهل بلخ و الخوزيّة
 لغة منسوبة الى كور خوزستان و بها كان يتكلم الملوك
 و الاشراف فى الخلاء و مواضع الاستغراغ و عند التعرّى
 فى الحمام و فى الازن و المَغْتَسَل و السريانيّة لغة
 منسوبة الى كور سورستان و هى مواد العراق و السريانيون
 هم الذين يقال لهم النبط و بها كان يحكى كلام حاشية
 الملوك اذا التمسوا الكوائج و سلوا الظلمات لانها املق
 اللسنة اصناف الكتابة الفارسية داند فيره اى كتابة الاحكام
 و شهر همار دفيره اى كتابة البلد للخارج و كده همار
 دفيره اى كتابة حساب دار الملك و كنيج همار دفيره
 اى كتابة الخزائن و آخر همار دفيره اى كتابة الاصطبلات
 و آتش همار دفيره اى كتابة حسابات النيران و روانكان
 دفيره اى كتابة الاوقاف الأكاسرة جمع كسرى على غير
 قياس و كسرى اعراب خسرو

الفصل السابع فى الفاظ يكثر ذكرها فى الفتوح والمغازى واخبار عرب الاسلام

الشُّرْطَةُ العلامة و جمعها شُرَطُ والشُّرَطِيُّونَ هم اصحاب
اعلام سود و رئيسهم صاحب الشُّرْطِ الحَرَبَةُ حربة كان
الذَّجَاشَى ملك الحبش اهداها الى رسول الله صلعم و
كانت تُقدَّم بين يديه اذا خرج الى المصلى يوم العيد و
١١٩ تتوارثها الخلفاء و هى الحربة التى قتل بها النبى صلعم
أبى بن خلف بيده يوم أحد و تسمى العنز ايضا البردة
بردة كان كساها رسول الله صلعم كعب بن زهير الشاعر
فاشترها منه معاوية والخلفاء تتوارثها ايضا الرَّابطة هم
الاعراب الذين لهم دواب العادية الذين تعدو خيولهم .
الشَّنَاقِصَةُ قوم من الجند والنسبة اليهم شَنَاقِصَى الابناء هم
ابناء الدهاقين و النسبة اليهم بَنُو الفرغانة هم اهل
فرغانة الْأَخْشِيد ملك فرغانة و دُونَهُ الصوار تكن الافشين
ملك أشروسنة الهياطلة جيل من الناس كانت لهم
شوكة و كانت لهم بلان طخارستان و انراك خلج و
١٢٠ كذحجينة من بقاياهم خاقان ملك الترك الاعظم خان
هو الرئيس فخاقان هو خان خان اى رئيس الرؤساء كما

تقول الفرس شاهانشاه جَبَوِيَه ملك الغَزِيَّة و كذلك
ملك التُّخَرَلُخِيَّة يسمّى جَبَوِيَه يِنَال تَكِين هو وليّ عهد
لـ جَبَوِيَه و لكلّ رئيس من رؤساء الترك من ملك او
دهقان يِنَال اى وليّ عهد سَبَاشِي هو صاحب الجيش
الـ طَرُخَان هو الشريف و الجمّيع الطراخنة بَغُور ملك الصين
و بُغ هو الملك و بور هو الابن بالسُّقْدِيَّة والصينيَّة والفارسيَّة
الماحضة الفهلويَّة رَأى ملك الهند و قَنُوج رَأى هو ملك ١٢١
قَنُوج اكبر بلادهم بلهراى و بلوهر ا اعظم ملوكهم عندهم
السُّرِيَّة هم النفر يبعثون ليلا للتنافر بالبيات اشتقت من
السُّرَى و الجمّيع السُّرايا السَّارِبَة النفر الذين يبعثون نهارا
و جمعها سوارب البَعَث الجماعة يبعثون ليلا و نهارا
التَّجْمِير ان يترك الجُند بازاء العدو طويلا الحُمراء هم
الاعاجم الارحاء هم القبائل التى تستقلّ كلّ قبيلة منها
بنفسها و تستغنى عن غيرها الاحماس هم اهل العالية
خُمس و بنو تَمِيم خُمس و بُكْرِين وائل خُمس و عبد القيس
خُمس و الْأَزْد و كندة خُمس و رؤس الاحماس رؤساء ١٢٢
هذه القبائل و ضائع الجند هى المشاحن و المسالخ واحدتها
و ضيعة الشُعوب جمع شُعْب للعجم مثل القبائل للعرب

من قول الله تعالى وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا و
 منه قيل للذى يتعصب للعجم شعوبى وقيل بل هى
 للعرب والعجم فبنو قحطان شعب و بنو عدنان شعب
 ثم القبايل واحدها قبيلة مشتقة من قبائل الرأس وهى
 عِظَامُهُ قَالُوا والفرق بين الكسى والقبيلة ان الكسى لا يقال
 فيه بنو فلان نكح قريش و ثقيف و معد و جذام والقبايل
 يقال فيها بنو فلان مثل بنى تميم و بنى سلول ثم العصائر
 من بعد القبائل واحدها عِمَارَةٌ والعِمَارَةُ المصدر ثم البطون
 واحدها بَطْنٌ مذكر ثم الافخاذ واحدها فَخِذٌ ثم الفصائل
 واحدها فصيلة ثم العشيرة المساک الاسير الذى يمسكه
 الرجل ممّا يخصّه من السبى الدراهم الوافية التى وزن
 الدرهم منها مثقال و وزن سبعة ما كان وزن عشرة
 منها سبعة مثاقيل وكذلك وزن خمسة و وزن ثمانية
لقراميل الابل ذوات السنامين البهار بيت اصنام الهند
الفرخار بيت اصنام الصين و السعد العليا البد و هو صنم
 الهند الاكبر الذى يحتجونه و يسمى كل صنم بدّا طبقات
 لناس بالهند الاشراف هم البراهمة و هم العباد واحد هم

بِرَهْمَتِ السُّودَزِيَّةِ هُمُ اصْحَابُ الزَّرَاعَةِ وَالبَيْشِيَّةِ هُمُ الصَّنَاعُ
 وَالسُّنْدَالِيَّةِ هُمُ اصْحَابُ اللُّكُونِ الزُّطَّ هُمُ حِفَاطُ الطَّرِيقِ
 وَهُمُ جَنْسٌ مِنَ السُّنْدِ يُقَالُ لَهُمْ جَتَّانُ مَاءِ الكُوفَةِ هِيَ
 الدِّيْنُورُ مَاءُ البَصْرَةِ هِيَ نِهَاوَنْدُ وَهَمْدَانُ وَتَمَّ زُمُومُ
 ١٣٤ لَأَكْرَانِ مَحَالَّتِهِمْ وَاحِدُهَا زَمَّ الْخَشْبَاتِ اسَاطِينُ مَنْصُوبَةٌ
 فِي الْبَحْرِ يُوْقَدُ فَوْقَهَا بِاللَّيْلِ سِرَاجٌ لِيَهْتَدَى بِهِ اصْحَابُ
 الْمَرَائِكِبِ الْمَهْرَاجِ مَلِكُ الزَّابِجِ وَالزَّنْجِ الْقُسْطَاطُ مَدِينَةُ
 مِصْرَ اِيلِيَا هِيَ مَدِينَةُ بَيْتِ الْمُقَدَّسِ وَ هِيَ بِالْعِبْرَانِيَّةِ
 أُورُشَلِيمَ وَ هِيَ مِنْ كُورِ فِلَسْطِينَ التُّغُورُ مِنْ بِلَادِ الشَّامِ هِيَ
 الَّتِي تَصَاقِبُ بِلَادَ الرُّومِ وَالْعَوَاسِمِ الَّتِي خَلْفَ التُّغُورِ كَانَتْهَا
 تَعَصُمُ التُّغُورُ وَ عَوَادِلُ التُّغُورِ الَّتِي عَدَلَتْ عَنْهَا الْهَرَمَانُ
 بَنِيَّتَانِ عَظِيمَتَانِ بِمِصْرَ سَمَكُ كُلِّ وَاحِدٍ مِنْهُمَا اَرْبَعُمِائَةِ
 ذِرَاعٍ وَهُمَا مِنْ مَرْمَرٍ وَرَخَامٍ مَخْرُوطَ الشَّكْلِ وَ حَوَالِيَهُمَا
 أَهْرَامُ كَثِيرَةٌ صَغَارُ وَ يَزْعُمُ النَّاسُ أَنَّهَا بُنِيَتْ قَبْلَ الطُّوفَانِ
 وَ اَنْ فِيهَا خَبَايَا وَ بَعْضُهُمْ يَزْعُمُ اَنَّ فِيهَا قُبُورًا لِمُلُوكِ
 الْقَبْطِ الَّذِينَ كَانُوا يَسْمَوْنَ الْفِرَاعْنَةَ الْقَبْطُ اَهْلُ كُورِ مِصْرَ ١٣٥
النَّمَارِ كَانُوا مَلُوكَ الْإِسْرِيَانِيِّينَ وَاحِدُ هُمُ نَمْرُودُ

CH. VI.

On words, which occur frequently in the history of Persia:

المُرَازِبَةُ is the plural of المُرَازِبَانِ¹. They are those who are behind the king, and they are the kings of the districts (i.e., provincial kings). مَرْزُ means the boundary in Persian, and مَرْزَبَان is the governor of the boundary. The Persians used to call the district in the vicinity of the river (i.e., the Oxus) Marzi Tûrân, i.e., the frontier of the Turks, while the people of Khorâsân used to call it Marzi Irân, i.e., the frontier of Al-'Irâq.^{1 bis}

¹ Mid P. *marzpan* "margrave" (UNVALA, KH. 87). They were the governors of provinces, nominated by the king and possessed considerable authority. AL-KHWÂRAZMÎ must be thinking of a particular margrave appointed to guard the frontier between Irân and Turân (MARQUART 150).

The *u* (ضم) on the second syllable is owing to the following labial.

^{1 bis} Al-'Irâq is another name for Irânshahr or Persia (IBN-KHORDÂDBEH⁵, 18-19; IBN-ROSTA^{1-c}, 1-4). As-Sawâd or Sûristân is called دِل اِيْرَانْشَهْر, i.e., "The heart of Irânshahr" (IBN-KHORD.

ibid.; MARQ. 21). Further, among early Arab writers al-'Irâq was used to designate the whole of Persia. Thus the emperor of China is alleged to have said to Ibn-Wahab, an Arab traveller, in 303 A.H. that the Chinese count five kings in the whole world. The first is the king of al-'Irâq, because al-'Irâq is the centre of the earth, and because other kingdoms surround it. In China he is called by the name of "the king of kings". The second is the king of China, then comes the king of the Turks, then the king of India and the king of Rûm or Byzance. (FERRAND 87). From this it is clear that by the expression "king of al-'Irâq" the Caliph of Bagdad is meant, who became the inheritor of the vast empire of the Sasanides (PELLIOT, T'oung Pao, vol. XXII, no. 2, 117, 118). Again, it is interesting to note, that the name al-'Irâq is used for Fârs, the south western province of Persia in the chronicles of the fourth Islamic century, where it is said that "a treaty of agreement between the parties ('Adûd ad-Daula, ruler of Fârs and Abû Şâlih Mangûr bin Nuh, ruler of Khorâsân) was drawn up in 361 A.H. and attested by the witnesses of al-'Irâq, who were present and the witnesses of Khorâsân" (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate. Oxford 1921, vol. V. 335.)

As to the derivation and meaning of al-'Irâq, YÂQÛT quotes HAMZA who says that its name in Persian is اِيْرَا meaning "coast, coastland", from which it is arabised to عِرَاق (YÂQÛT ٦٢٩, 18-22). This is, of course, one of the many conjectures of Arab writers at the explanation of the name. To my knowledge there is no Persian word like اِيْرَا.

خُراسان² means the East. خُرباران³ is the West. نيمروز⁴ is the quarter of the South, because the Sun stands opposite to it in the middle of the day. آذر بادگان⁵ is the quarter of the North. آذر is one of the months of winter, and باد is the wind. It means the quarter of the wind of winter. The word is then arabised and became آذريجان.

درفش is a standard. درفش كايان⁶ arabised from الدرفش. The name of the man who revolted against Ad-Ḍahhāk and killed him was Afridūn Kābi⁷. The standard of Kābi was made

² Mid P. *xvarāsān*, Arm Lw. *xorasan* (HBM. AGr. 45) mean lit. "the place, abode of the Sun", hence "the East". It is also the name of the north-eastern province of Persia; cf. MP. *xurāsān*.

³ Mid P. *xvarvarān*, *xvarbardān* (Pahl T. I. 20, 13), Arm Lw. *xavarvaran* (MARQUART 18) mean lit. the place where the Sun is covered or hidden", i.e., "the West". IBN KHORD (v. 7) and MA'SŪDĪ (*At-Tanbīh* 31. 5) have خُربوران. Of the variants خوروران and خاوران quoted in IBN KHORD. (*ibid.* no. e) the former is the correct and non-arabised form.

⁴ Mid P. *nēmrōd*, lit. "midday", hence the South.

⁵ Mid P. *āturpātakān* (Pahl T. I. 24, 2, 6), Arm Lw. *Atrpatakan* (MARQ. 108, seq.; HBM. AGr. 23, 24). It is derived from Av. *čarapāta* "protected by fire," with two distinctive Mid P. suffixes -ak and -ān.

AL-KHWÂR.'s etymology of the word is wrong. He is misled by the arabised form باد of Mid. P. *pāt*, Av. *pātu* "protected". It is interesting to note that he calls آذر "one of the months of winter", most probably the ninth month, as in the orthodox calendar of the modern Zoroastrians.

AL-KHWÂR. uses the name of one of the northern provinces of Persia to designate the North. But Av. and Mid P. have a special word for it, viz., *apāxtara* and *apāxtar* respectively. M.P. *bāxtar*, which is etymologically connected with Av. *apāxtara* means "the West" (HORN, NpEt, 35). IBN-ROSTA gives the names of the four geographical divisions of Irānshahr, which correspond to the names of the four cardinal points in Mid P. given by AL-KHWÂR. But the northern division is called by him باختر (IBN-ROSTA 103. 23) and not *ādharpādakān*. MA'SŪDĪ also calls the North باختر (*At-Tanbīh* 31. 6).

⁶ Mid P. *drafs*, M P. *direfs* "a banner, standard".

⁷ Cf. CHRISTENSEN 62. Mid P. *Frētōn i Kāvtydn*. He is *Θραetaona* of the Avesta, the Iranian mythical hero (JNb. 331 seq.)

from a bear-skin, others say from a lion's skin. The kings of Persia used to consider it to be of good omen. They embroidered it with gold and studded it with precious stones.

الأسوار⁸ is the plural of الأسوار. It means a knight, because the Persians did not give this title except to a courageous, brave and renowned man.

سورستان⁹ is the lower Euphrates district. From it is derived the name of the Syrians, who are the Nabatæans.

بَغْسَنان¹⁰ is an idol-temple; بَغ means an idol. For this reason Baghdâd is so called, i.e., "the gift of the idol," as is said on the authority of Al-Aṣma'î. It is therefore also that the king is called بَغ. This word also means, "the leader, the master". Thus the king of China is called بَغ بور¹¹

⁸ Mid P. *asawâr*, M P. *suwâr* "a rider, cavalier". For سوار cf. no. 1.

⁹ Mid P. *Sûrestân*. It is the ancient name of As-Sawâd in Persian, a translation of Aram. *Bêṭ Aramâye*. It is Asorestan of the Armenian historians, where Ctesiphon, the residence of the Persian kings, was situated (MARQUART 21; HBM. AGR. 22). But Mid P. *Sûrestân* signifies "Syria proper" (Bd. XV. 29, no.; XX, 10). Cf. also no. 1 bis.

¹⁰ AP. **bagastâna*-, Mid P. *Bayestân*, M P. *Bahistân* and *Bêsutân* "the place or abode of God" (HBM. AGR. 113). It is the name of the mountain, on which the famous inscriptions of Darius the Great are engraved. Al-KHWÂR. is wrong in his etymology, because AP. *baga*-, Mid P. *bay* never meant "an idol". The meaning "king" is dialectical (MARQUART Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran, II. 6. no. 3. Göttingen 1896). As regards بَغ دَاَد, IBN-DURUSTŪYA gives indeed a popular etymology favoured by the consonance of *bay* and *bây* in MP. The word is بَغْدَاد (IBN-KHORD.), Mid P. *baydât*, Av. *bayadâta* "given by God; gift of God", comp. Gr. θεόδοτος. The charge of idol-worship in general and the worship of the effigies of kings and Imâms in particular brought forward by Arab historians against the ancient Persians can only be upheld in the case of the Parthians, whom the Arabs nearly ignore as the Persian tradition does. It is totally unfounded in the case of the Achæmenides and the Sasanides, especially in that of the latter, whom the Arabs, came to know better.

¹¹ Mid P. *baypuhr*, Sogd. **baypâr*, اَبَغْفُور (thus also in the Šâhnâma), MP. *baypâr* "son of God". It is in imitation of the title of the Chinese emperor t'ien-tze of the Hans. This title was introduced by Kushana King Kadphizes as *devaputra* (MARQUART 209).

i.e., "the son of the king". But Ibn-Durustūya says in his book *Taṣḥīḥ ul-Faṣīḥ*, that Al-Aṣma'ī is mistaken in what he has related about the etymology of Baghdād, because the Persians were not worshippers of idols. The word is باغ داد and باغ means "a garden" and داد is the name of a man. This is a false invention and a gross error of Ibn-Durustūya, because بخ means, according to the Persians, "God; lord, king". They used to worship idols and seek blessing from them. They named the idol بخ and the house of idols بَغْسَدَان. Of course, the Persians used to worship them and represented them in the effigy of kings and Imāms. Perhaps Baghdād means also "the gift of the king."

مُؤَبِّدُ¹² is the judge of the magians, and مَوْبَذَانِ مَوْبَذِ¹³ is the chief judge, (lit. the judge of judges).

هَوْبَذَةُ¹³ is the servant of the fire. Its plural is هَوْبَذَاتُ.

It corresponds to Sasanian *minū dītrī min yaztān* "ἐκ γένους θεοῦ" i.e., of the lineage of God". Bakur is the Armenian form of the Parthian name Πάκορος which was analysed into بَغْدُور, hence بخ mean also "king" in many dialects (MARQUART Untersuchungen. II.6, no. 3.) بور is, of course, an arabised form of Sog. *pūr*. Mid PT. shows us all the three forms *pūs*, *pūhr* (*pūsr*), and *pūr* for Av. *puθra* "son", (BTHL. zAirWb. 246). They also occur in Mid PB.

Note 1.— The form *ḥay* is explained as Ferghānīan in dictionaries it means "idol; beloved" (GlrPh. I. 2.14).

12 It shows the original MP. pronunciation with the diphthong in the first syllable, which becomes later on *ô* in *môbad* (HBM. Pst. 248). MidP. *mayupat* lit. means "the chief of the magians", then simply "a priest", because the priestly profession was reserved only for this Median tribe (BTHL. AirWb. 1111). *Mayupat* was higher in authority than "the great judge" in Sasanian times, whereas *mayupatān mayupat* was "the chief justice" (BTHL. z SR. IV. 28, seq.) The ordinary judge was called *dātawar*, MP. *dāwer*.

13 The vocalisation with *a* in the second syllable corresponds to Mid Ps *ēhrpat*. MP. *hērbud* with *u* is owing to the preceding labial. Although MP. *hēr* "fire" in *hērbud* corresponds phonetically with Mid P. *ēhr* in *ēhrpat* and with Av. *aθra-* in *aθrapaitiš*, still it differs radically in its meaning from the Mid P. and Av. words, as they mean "the teacher of a theological school". MP. *hēr* goes back, according to BARTHOLOMAE, to an ancient Iran. **aidra*. "brand, fire", which latter may be compared to Gr. *αἶθω* "I burn" etc., (BTHL. zAirWb. 243-44).

And among the Persian dialects are :—

الفهلوية¹⁴, the speech of kings was delivered in it during public audiences. It is the dialect which is connected with بهله¹⁵; and بهله¹⁶ is the name which is applied to the five cities Iṣfahān¹⁵, Ar-Rayy¹⁶, Hamadhān¹⁷, Nihāwand¹⁸ and Ādharbaijān¹⁹. Among its dialects: الفارسية²⁰ —this was

¹⁴ This is *Pahlavik* or Middle Persian. *Pahlavik* is an ethnicon from MidP. *Pahlav*, AP. *Parthava*—“Parthia, a Parthian”, Arm. *Pahlaw*, Part'ev (HBM. AGr. 83, seq.) It is, properly speaking, the dialect of Parthia, later Xurāsān, the north-eastern province of Persia. Al-Khwārizmī calls it wrongly the dialect of *Bahla*, which, according to him and other Arab geographers, is the province containing the above-mentioned five cities, which are situated in the north-western province of Persia, the ancient province of Media. But Arab. *Bahla* is MidP. *Bahl* (written *b aa* i.e., *Bāhl* or *Bahlī*, s. PahlV. I. 7; PahlT. I. 19-5), Arm. *Bahl*, which is normally developed from Av. *Bāxtri*, *Bāxdi* without the metathesis, which would give us the form *Balx* (MARQUART 87; HBM. AGr. 31). Thus *Pahlavik* would be, properly speaking, the dialect of Balx or Bactria. Al-Khwārizmī considers *Fārsiyya*, *Darriyya*, *Khāziyya* and *Suryāniyya* as its dialects, of which the second and the fourth may be taken for the dialects of the north, and the first and the third as the dialects of the south.

Note 1.—Both these pronunciations existed side by side. The former approaches more to the Av. form, and must have been more prevalent because its ethnicon is found in Syr. *Bāhli*, which through the Buddhists has also been borrowed into Skr. *Wāhli*, *Bāhlika*, *Wāhlika* and *Wāhlika*. Again MP. shows both forms of the name *Bāxr* and *Balx* (MARQUART 88, 89).

¹⁵ Ἀσπαδάνα of Ptolemaios; MidP. *Spāhān*, Arm. *Spahan*, *Aspahan* MP. *Ispāhān* (HBM. AGr. 21, 22).

¹⁶ It is called *Ragā* in Av. and AP., and *'Pāya* by the Greeks; Mid P. *Rē* (Pahl T. I. 21 7), Arm. *Ēre*, MP. *Rai*. It was the capital of Media (HBM. AGr. 70). Re and Aspahan were situated, according to Moses of Khoren and Ptolemaios, in Media (MARQUART, 28, 137).

¹⁷ It is Ecbatana, *Hagmatāna* of AP. and Ἀγβαράνα of Hero, dotus; Arm. *Ahmatan* and *Ahmadan* (HBM. AGr. 17). The province of Hamadān corresponds to the Arsacide province Μηδεία ἡ ἄνω (MARQUART 71).

¹⁸ MidP. *Nihāvand* (PahlT. I. 21-4). *Fihrist* has نِهْاوند i.e., Nihāvand of Media (I. 13. 4).

¹⁹ Cf. no. 5.

²⁰ MidP. *Pārqik*, an ethnicon from MidP. *Pārs*, AP. *Pārsa*-, Arm. *Paršk* (HBM. AGr. 67) “Persia, a Persian”. This was the dialect of the Sasanides and the direct forerunner of MP. It is again the ecclesiastical and literary (*Fihrist* I. 13. 6) dialect, prevalent in Persia.

used as the speech of the Mawbadhs and of those who were equal to them (in rank). It is the dialect of the villages of Fârs; ²¹ الدَّرِيَّة is the dialect of the people of the cities comprising Ctesiphon. Those who were at the court of the king used to speak it. It is connected with those who frequent the court of kings. The one dialect of those of the people of the East that takes its place, is that of the people of Balkh; ²² الْخَوَزِيَّة is the dialect, which is connected with the villages of Khûzistân. The kings and nobles used to speak it in privacy and lavatory, while undressing in the bath, and in copper-basins and in the toilet-room; ²³ السُّرْيَانِيَّة is the dialect, which is connected with the villages of Sûristân²³, which is the lower Euphrates district of Al-'Irâq. The Syrians are those, who are (also) called the Nabataeans. It was used as the speech of the ratinues of the kings, when they craved for boons and complained against unjust acts, because it is the most flattering of the languages.

²¹ MidP. **darik*. This is the court-dialect. It seems from what Al-Khawân. says about the *Fahlaviyya* dialect, that *Darriyya* was supplanted by this dialect, although as said in no. 14 his etymology of *Fahlaviyya* is not correct. It is, according to him, the Median dialect. In modern times the name *Gabri* is widely used by oriental as well as occidental writers instead of *Deri* (*Darik*), with which the Zoroastrians of Persia designate their dialect as a protest against the degrading word *gabri* (GlrPh. I. b. 382).

²² AP. *huwaġiya*-, an ethnonicon from AP. *huvaġa*- "Susiania, a Susian" (Bthl. AirWb. 1846), Arm. *xuġik*, *xuġastan* (MARQUART 27, Hbm. AGr. 45.) *Fihrist* has "the king and nobles used to speak it in privacy and in places of recreation and pleasure, and with courtiers" (I. 13. 7). It is most probably a sort of a vulgar dialect or slang, in which the king and nobles used to express their feelings without restraint. Again, the inhabitants of Khûzistân were considered as the refuse of the human species, and their name became a synonym of a thief, a cheat, etc., (Dozy); their dialect may have, therefore, been worthy of them.

²³ Cf. no. 9.

The kinds of Persian registers²⁴ : —

- داد دَڤیره²⁵, i.e., the register of judicial decisions;
 هَمَار دَڤیره²⁶ هَمَر دَڤیره²⁷, i.e., the register of the land for taxation;
 کَدَه هَمَار دَڤیره²⁸, i.e., the register of the accounts of the royal
 کَنج هَمَار دَڤیره²⁹ court; i.e., the register of treasures;
 آهَر هَمَار دَڤیره³⁰ آهَر هَمَار دَڤیره^{30 bis}; i.e., the register of the livery

²⁴ *Fihrist* has دَڤیره and دَڤیره (I. ۱۳. 9, 11), *At-Tanbih* دَڤیره (۹۱. 11, ۹۲. 8). The forms دَڤیره and دَڤیره go back to MidP.* *dipirak*, adj. "belonging to, pertaining to a writer, secretary" from MidP. *dipir*, Arm Lw. *dpir* "a writer; secretary of state" (CHRISTENSEN 38; HBM. AGr. 145). But the word is used in the sense of "writing, character; scripture" = Arab. كِتَابَة in general, e.g., دین دَڤیره "the religious writing"; کَشَن دَڤیره (better وِش = MidP. *velē*) "universal writing, scripture" (*Fihrist* I. ۱۳. 9, 11; *At Tanbih* ۹۱. 11, ۹۲. 8). It refers here undoubtedly to the state-records pertaining to the different departments of administration. *Fihrist's* دَڤیره is indeed a mistake for دَڤیره, which is MidP. *dēpīrīh* "the art of writing" (UNVALA, KH. 64), then "writing, character, scripture," comp. Arm. *dprut'iun* (HBM. AGr. 145).

²⁵ Mid P. *dāt*, MP. *dād* mean originally "law, justice", then especially in Paz. "a judicial decree, decision, judgment". Arm Lw. *dat* is used only in this latter sense (HBM. AGr. 136).

²⁶ MidP. *āmār*, MP. *hamār* lit., "counting, reckoning, account". That the word also meant "tax, taxation" is deduced from Arm Lw. *hamarakar* "book-keeper, collector of taxes" (CHRISTENSEN 20; HBM. AGr. 178).

²⁷ AP. *xšagra-* and MidP. *šahr* mean only "land, country." MP. *šehr* has later on got a restricted meaning "a city".

²⁸ Mid P. *katak*, MP. *kada* "house" is here used in the restricted sense of "the royal house, court".

²⁹ Mid P. and MP. *ganj* "treasure". The whole means lit. "the register of the accounts of the treasury".

³⁰ MidP. *āxar*, MP. *āxur*, Arm Lw. *axot*. "a stable". There was in Sasanian times a dignitary *āxvarpat* or *āxvaredlār*, who was "the grand equerry" (CHRISTENSEN 93; UNVALA, KH. § 110). Thus آهَر هَمَار means "accounts pertaining to the livery".

^{30 bis} It is borrowed from Aram. ܐܬܬܝܠܐܝܬܐ Gr. στάβλος "stable."

i.e., the register of the accounts pertaining to the fires; ³¹ رَوَانَكَانَ هَمَار دَفِيرَه i.e., the register of pious foundations.

كَسْرَى is the plural of كَشْرَى without analogy. الْكَاسِرَةُ is an arabised form of ³² خَسْرَو.

CH. VII.

On the words, which occur frequently in conquests and wars and history of the Arabs of Islām.

الشُّرْطَةُ ³³ means "a distinguishing mark, a banner". Its plural is شُرُطٌ. الشُّرَطِيُّونَ are those who possess black banners. Their chief is called صَاحِبُ الشُّرْطِ ³⁴.

حَرْبَةٌ ³⁵ الْعُرْبَةُ is the lance, which was in possession of Najāshī, ³⁶ the King of Abyssinia. He presented it to the messenger of God—may God bless him and give him peace!—It was carried before him, whenever he went to the place of prayer on the festival day. The Khalifs inherited it from their prede-

³¹ MidP. **ruvānakān*, plural of *ruvān* "soul", most probably formed on the analogy of MidP. *fravartakān*, MP. *fravardagān* "the departed ones", or better perhaps on that of MP. *dōstagān*, plural of *dōst* "a friend". It refers to the pious gifts given to certain charitable funds for the benefit of the souls of the departed.

³² Av. *Haosravah-*, MidP. *Husrav* (UNVALA, KH. 66). The Arab. form كَسْرَى is borrowed from the second one of the intermediate Syr. forms *Xosrav* and *Xesron* (with the aspirated *k*) (JNb. 134). The name of the famous Sasanian King Xosro Kavād (531-579 A.D.) became later on the common appellation for the Persian kings, especially with Arab writers.

³³ "A policeman; an executioner" (Dozy). It is also used of those troops who enter first in a battle regardless of death. Again, it signifies "the satellites of the prætor as well as of a prefect", i.e., "the prætorian troop", so-called because they had some distinguishing badge" (FREYTAG).

³⁴ For his duties cf. BARTHOLD, *Turkistan*, p. 236, 239.

³⁵ "A short lance" (FREYTAG). It is also used of the blade of a dagger (Dozy).

³⁶ Ethiop. *nagāshī* "ruler, king".

cessors. It is (again) the lance, with which the prophet—may God bless him and give him peace!—killed with his own hand Obayy ibn-Khalaf on the day (of the battle) of Uhud. It is called العترة.

البُرْدَة³⁷ was the robe, with which the messenger of God—may God bless him and give him peace!—clothed the poet Ka'b bin Zuhair. Mu'awiya bought it from the latter and the Khalifs inherited it also.

الرَّابِطَة³⁸ are the Arabs, who possess chargers. العَادِيَة³⁹ are those, whose cavalry prepares an assault. الشَّنَاقِصَة⁴⁰ is a body of soldiers. Its nisba is شَنَاقِصِي. الْأَبْنَاءُ are the sons of the village-chiefs^{40 bis}. Its nisba is بَنَوِي. الْفَرَاغَةُ—they are the people of Farghāna.⁴¹

الْأَخْشِيدِ⁴² is the king of Farghāna. The Šawārtar

³⁷ For its full description cf. Dozy.

³⁸ They are a detachment of cavalry, who make a night-ambuscade (Dozy), or who watch the frontiers (KAZIMIRSKI).

³⁹ They are the troops pertaining to the infantry, as well as to the cavalry (FREYTAG).

⁴⁰ *Tāj ul-‘Arus* has الشَّنَاقِصَة, which is certainly connected with الشَّنَاقِصَة. It is explained by “a class (ضرب) of soldiers”. Its singular is شَنَاقِصِي which is the nisba of شَنَاقِص. Thus شَنَاقِص must be a geographical name, which is difficult to identify owing to the lack of further references.

^{40 bis} Mid P. *dehkan*, M.P. دهكان Syr. דהקנא “village-chief”; Arm. *dehkanut'iun* “the office of a *dehkan*” (HBM. Agr. 139).

⁴¹ It forms at present a part of Russian Turkistan.

⁴² CHRISTENSEN takes it for a dialectical form (north-eastern) of AP. *xšdyaθiya-*, MidP. and MP. *šdh* “a king” (CHRISTENSEN 23). But I consider it with JUSTI (Nb. 141) as derived from Av. *xšaeta-*, Sogd. **xšēt*, Mid P. *šēt*, MP. *šéd* “shining, brilliant”, an attribute of the Sun and of the king Yima (*Jamšét*) in the Avesta. MP. *šéd* has acquired the exclusively substantial meaning “brilliance; the Sun”. This view is supported by the names of *mpen šétak* (*šédak* of the *šāh-nāma*) and *šétasp* (HORN; NpEt. 178). At any rate, the Sogd. forms **xšēt* or **xšēd* when arabicised become *ikhshid*. Another ancient Turkish title *šad* (in Arm. *šath*),

kin⁴³ is next to him. ^{لَانْتِشِينَ} 44 is the king of Ushrûshana.⁴⁵

which is mentioned in MARQUART 69, 85, is, of course, derived from AP. *xšdyahitiya*-, but from the intermediate Arsacide. (MidP. of the North) form *šdyg (von STACKELBERG, WZKM. 17, 59).

Note 1 Ancient Iran. long diphthongs -*dy- and -*dw- have normally become -ē- and -ē- in Sogdian (GAUTHIOT, Essai de Grammaire Sogdienne, Paris 1914-23, p. 96). Thus AP. *xšdyahitiya*- would become *xšēg in Sogd. But this example remains hypothetical and without a parallel.

⁴³ It is a Turkish title of "the commander-in-chief". ^{سوار} is perhaps MP. ^{سوار} "a rider, cavalier" (cf. no. 8). ^{تکین} is a Turkish title, meaning "powerful, courageous; a hero". The sons and younger brothers of the Kagan (*Khāqān*) were called *tegin*s (CHAVANNES 164, no. 3). Thus also the king of Zābūlistān appointed one of his brothers or son the king of *Kapiça* with the title *tegin* in 720 (*ibid.* 161, no. 1). Also the Hephthalites called their princes *tigin* (MARQUART 211). Cf. no. 53. This Turkish title occurs as the name of a man in *Kitāb-ul-Wuzarā* (edited by H. F. AMEDBOZ, Beyrut, 1904) ۸۸. 9 and ۲۳۵. 4, where a scribe ^{وصیق بن سوار تکین} is mentioned.

⁴⁴ It is an arabised form of MidP. *Pišin* (GrBd. 232, 2, 6), the name of a Kayānian prince, the grandson of *Kavāta*. The Av. form of the name is *Pišinah*-, whose etymology and meaning are obscure. Here it is used as a royal title. It occurs in Arm. as *Ošin*, most probably from an intermediate form **Avšin* (JNb. 252-53). One Haidar al-Afšīn, son of Kā'ōs of Ushrûshana is mentioned by BELĀDHORĪ ۴۳. 13 (MARQUART 300).

⁴⁵ The name is written also ^{امروشنه} and ^{امروشنه} (*Mašāsh* 119, no. u). This province is, according to YĀQŪT (Egyptian edition I, ۲۵۷. 24 seq.), situated in Transoxiana and belongs to the *Haitals* (Hephthalites). It lies between Saihūn and Samarqand and twenty-six farsangs away from the latter. A river of *Ushrûshana* is mentioned by YĀ'QŪTĪ (۲۹۴. 1 seq.), which is identical with the modern Uratyube. The capital of the province was situated in its centre, and is the modern Uratyube (^{اورتیبه}), which was written originally *Ushrûshana* and *Ushrûshana* (*Bābar-nāma* I. 16). For further topography cf. TOMASCHKE, Centralasiatische Studien I, 59-61, Wien 1877. BARTHOLO places this province in Russian Turkistan, about the stretch from Jizak to Khojend and the south of it the territory on the upper course of the Zarafshān (Encycl. of Islam, p. 177. The words "in Asia Minor" (*ibid.*) are most probably an error).

الهِبَطَالَةُ⁴⁶ is a race of men, who were formerly powerful. The land of Tokhâristân⁴⁷ belonged to them. The Khalaj⁴⁸ and the Kanjina⁴⁹ Turks are their only descendants. خاقان is the chief king of the Turks. خان means "a chief" and خاقان is the خان, i.e., "the chief of chiefs"; as the Persians say شاهنشاه "great king." جبویه⁵⁰ is the king of the Ghuzz-

⁴⁶ Its sing. is هِطَل. It is هِطَال of the *Šāhnāma*, MP. *Hētal*. Mid P. *Hēptālān* (plur. Gr Bd. 215, 7) Arm. *Hep't'al* and Syr. *Abdel* are forms which are nearer to Gr. 'Εφθαλίται and Ἀβδέλαιοι. The Hephthalites departed from Kin-Šan mountains during the reign of the second Wei Wen-Čing-ti (452-465) and wandered westwards of Xotan and entered *Tóxaristán* (Marquart 59). The *Haydtilas* are according to Mas'ūdī, the Sogdians, who reside between Buxara and Samarcand. The name *Haital* designates in MUQADDASĪ Transoxiana.

⁴⁷ Cf. Mid.P. *Tóxáritik*, adj. "of *Tóxaristán*." MP. *Tóxaristán* or *Tóxaristán*, for it cf. Bull SOStud. vol. II. part IV 659, no. p.

⁴⁸ This tribe of the Turks is mentioned with الغوز by Mas'ūdī in his *Murāj* V. 302. But he calls it الخولج in III. 254. These two tribes have immigrated into the Hindukush regions after the 7th century A.D. AL-KHWĀR. considers them to be the only descendants of the Hephthalites. But they are in reality a branch of a very old Turkish people, which is mentioned already in 554-55 under the name of the Kholas, side by side with the Basélqs (Βασήλqτ), the Abdels (Ἀβδέλqι) and the Eftalíes ('Εφθαλίται), i.e., before the Turks appeared in the west of the Altai and before the destruction of the Hephthalite empire (MARQUART 253).

The name is also written الخُولج, which is perhaps a better orthography (MARQUART 251).

⁴⁹ A tribe of the Turks mentioned also by MUQADDASĪ ۴۳۳. 8.

⁵⁰ This form is developed from Arab. Pers. جبغویه (IBN. KHORD. ۱۶-8, ۴. 10), from which the *gh* has been dropped after a *muta* (WZKM. 12. 183). Both are derived from Turk. *yabghu*.

A Yabghu of Tokhâristân is mentioned by TABARĪ in 708-9 (90 A.H.) (*ibid*), who was the king of Tokhâristân (MARQUART 69, 70). The *Kharlukh* princes were later on known to the Arabs as جبویه (IBN-KHORD. ۱۶-8), or under their fuller title as "Yabghu of the three clans" (MARQUART 308). The first Yabghu of the *Kharlukhs* appears in history in 162 A.H. (778-9) under the prince, who honoured Al Mahdī (WZKM. 12. 184). According to Theophanes and Moses of Kaghankatouts *Ziebel* or *Jebā* (Yabghu) was a chief of the Turkish Khazars (CHAVANNES 256, and VULLERS, *Mirchondi Historia Salschukidarum*, p. 1, lines 5-6).

yya.⁵¹ Similarly the king of the Kharlukhiyya⁵² is called جَبْوِيَّة. بنال⁵³ is the crown-prince of the Jabbuya.

Further, the word yabghu, *yabgu appears in Pkr. as jawug (nom. jawugo, etc., on the coins of Kushana Kadaphes as ZAOOY in Greek characters=jawu, with the transposition of the letters *g* and *u* (MARQUART 204). The same prince calls himself later on devaputra, i.e., فغفور (cf. no. 11).

Yabghu occurs also in the Šāhnāma as پیغو where it is used rather as an ethnicon for the Turanians than as a title. Thus Arjāsp is called آن شاه پیغو نژاد "that king of the lineage of Paighu" (MARQUART. u. BANG) Ostürk. Dial. 217). پیغو is, of course, the result of the wrong punctuation of پیغو. پیغو and پیکو is, according to the Farhang e-Nāṣirī, the name of a kingdom, situated towards China, whose king is also called by the same name. VULLERS identifies it with Pegu, situated to the east of Bengal (Gl. Sch.), and also with Tartary. دیار تاتار (*ibid*). Its nisba پیغوی is explained by STEINGASS as "the Turkish writing, the Turkish language," most probably on the authority of Firdausi, who says that the letter of Arjāsp to Guštāsp was written in the Paighawī characters—برخط پیغوی.

One Yabghu-Xākān is mentioned, according to VON STACKELBERG, in the list of the cities of Persia (Pahl T. I. 19,8). The text has db b aa k an, which he emends to db db° (ZDMG 58. 855). It would be better to read db an°, i.e.,

⁵¹ It is an ethnicon from غَز also written الغوز (MARQUART 251). It is properly speaking a Turkish tribe, but the name is also applied to the Kurds (DOZY).

⁵² It is an ethnicon from خَرَلُخ, a tribe of the Turks (IBN-ROSTA ۹۲. 13 seq.). AL-HAMADHĀNĪ mentions the Ghuzz and the Kharlukh tribes together (۳۲۹. 4).

⁵³ The first part of this title is invariably written بنال by Arab authors. It is, of course, Turk. اینال "a king, prince; chieftain." A petty prince is called اینالعیق (ABOUL-GĀZĪ 24). "The Qirghizs, give their chief the title of ināl, which is equal to pādīshah, i.e., emperor among the Mongols and the Tājiks. In the time of Chenghiz Khan there was an ināl named Urus-ināl" (ABOUL-GĀZĪ 27, translated by I. BEREZINŪM in the Biblioteka Vostotchiūx Istorikov, Kazan 1854, vol. III, 41). Three ināls (not Yanāls) are mentioned in the chronicles of the fourth Islamic Centuries (cf. MARGOLIUTH, The Eclipse etc., Index, p. 141). Another ināl (Ināl Khān), son of the maternal uncle of Sultan Jelālud-Dīn Mankobirti of Kharezm, is mentioned by NESAWĪ in his history of this sultan (edited by O. HOUDAS, Paris, 1895, p. ۳۴, ۳۵, etc.). In all these four places ināl is undoubtedly the name of a man rather than a title. For *egin* cf. no. 43;

Every chief among the Turks, the king as well as the village-chief has an *ینال*, i.e., "a crown prince." *سُوباشی*⁵⁴ is the commandant of troops. *الطُرَّحَان*⁵⁵ means, "a nobleman." Its plural is *الطُرَّاحِنَة*. *بَغْبُور*⁵⁶ is the king of China. *بَغ* means "a king" and *بُور* "a son" in Sogdian, in Chinese and in pure Persian, i.e., in Pahlavi.

*رَای*⁵⁷ is the king of the Indians. *قَنُوجَ رَای* is the king of Qanoj, their great city. *بَلُهرای*⁵⁸ or *بلوهر* is their greatest king.

⁵⁴ Turk. *سُوباشی* or *صوباشی* "a police-officer; a sub-commissioner of the district; the mayor of the village" (ZENKER). It is derived from Turk. *سو* *sü* "army," *sülemek* "to lead expedition" (THOMSEN, p. 41).

⁵⁵ It is *tarkan*, the Turkish title of a dignitary (CHAVANWES 164, no. 3; 239, no. 2). *Nēzak*, prince of Hētal—Hephthalite—with whom Yazdgerd III carries on negotiations, has the title *Tarkhān* (MARQUART 67, 150.)

⁵⁶ Cf. no. 11.

⁵⁷ *رَای* or *را* in *بَلُهرای* (AL-BERŪNĪ and IBN-KHORD.) are forms derived from Pkr. *rāyo* (nom.), Skr. *rājā* (nom.) "a king."

⁵⁸ Or *بَلُهرای* (s. no. 57) and *بَلُهرای* as in FERRAND 47 etc., (s. index).

This latter form approaches more to Skr. *Vallabharājā* than to *بَلُهرای*. ARNOLD identifies it with *Vallabha* "beloved," the title of the kings of Raṣtrakūṭa (about 630-972 A.D.) (Encycl. of Islam, 618). The epithet or title *vallabha*, used either singly or in composition with a noun like *śrī* or *prithivī*, was borrowed by the Raṣtrakūṭas from the preceding dynasty, the Chalukyas of Vātāpi (Bomb. Gaz. 1896. vol. I. part 2, p. 209).

Balharā was, according to Mas'ūdī, king of the city of Mānkīr, the great centre of India. He founded a dynasty of the same name, which was reigning upto his time 332 A. H. (ELLIOT 19). Mānkīr is Mānyakheta, sixty miles to the south-east of Sholāhpur (Encycl. of Islam, 618). IBN-HAUKAL defines the limits of the kingdom of Balharā more precisely. It extends, according to him, from Kambāya (=Cambay, FERRAND 30) to Saimur,—a city of Hind near the confines of Sind (Al-Kazwīnī)—and in it there are several Indian kings (IBN-HAUKAL ۲۲۷, 7, ۸۶, 13). This statement of IBN-HAUKAL is further supported by the report of the Arab merchant Sulaymān, who says that the territory of the kingdom of Ballahrā commences from the western sea-coast of India, which is a country called Konkan, adjoining China by land. There are many neighbouring kings, with whom he lives in a continual state of war. Among these hostile kings there is one who calls himself king of Gujra (Gujarat) (LANGLE ۲۸, 3-7). He is also mentioned by IBN-ROSTER, who says that the name Balharā means "the king of kings of India," and that his country is called *الککم*, which is an Indian name. Its

السُّرْيَة is a division of soldiers sent to encounter (the enemy) during a night-attack. It is derived from سُرِيَ. Its plural is السُّرَايَة. السَّارِبَة is a division of soldiers sent by day (for an assault). Its plural is سَوَارِب. الْبَيْعَة is a division (of soldiers) sent by day and by night (for an assault). التَّجْمِير means "leaving the army of occupation in the country of an enemy," (*lit.* when the army is left long before the enemy).

الضَّمَرَاء are the foreigners—non-Arabs. الْأَرْحَام—they are those tribes, each of which manages its own affairs for itself and has no need of others, *i.e.*, they are independent tribes. الْأَخْمَاس⁵⁹ means "the fifths." They are 1—people of Al 'Āliya (*i.e.*, Medina), and 2—Banū Tamīm, and 3—Bakr bin Wā'il, and 4—'Abd ul-Qais, and 5—Al 'Azd and Kinda. The chiefs of Al 'Akhmās are the chiefs of these tribes.

وَضَائِعُ الْجَنْدِ are the detachments of cavalry and armed men pertaining to the garrison. Its singular is وَضِيعَة.

الشُّعُوب is the plural of شُعْبَة. They are among the Persians and the non-Arabs like the قُبَاثِل—tribes—among the Arabs. (It is said) in the word of God Most High: "and we have made you شُعُوب and قُبَاثِل, so that you may recognise one another."⁶⁰ And from it the term *Shu'ûbi*⁶¹ is derived to denote those Persians, who manifest the nationalist spirit. On the other hand some say that the term is applied

capital is السَّاج (IBN-ROSTEH ١٣٤-١٣٥). REINAND reads this name *Al-Komkam* and takes it for Concan (Relat. 26). AL-BERŪNĪ spells it كَنْكَنْ (India, ed. SACHAV ٩٩. 13). But it is interesting to note, that AL-BERŪNĪ, who was well acquainted with Indian matters, says nothing about Balharā, although he mentions a kingdom of *Konkan* with its capital at *Tālah* (*Tānah*) (YULE, Cathay and the way thither, vol. I. p. 241).

⁵⁹ These are the five families, who took an active part in the foundation of Baṣra.

⁶⁰ *Al-Qorān* XLIX. 13.

⁶¹ Cf. GOLDZIEHER, *Mohmedanische Studien*, I, 147 seq.

to the Arabs as well as the Persians. Thus Banū Qaṭṭān is a Sha'b and Banū 'Adnān is a Sha'b. Then (comes) الْقَبَائِل.

Its singular is قَبِيلَة. It is derived from قَبَّلَ, i.e., the bones of the skull. They say: "and the difference between

الْحَيِّ and الْقَبِيلَة is this, that in the case of الْحَيِّ they do not say "the Banū so and so,"⁶² like Quraish and Thaqif and Ma'dd and Judhām, and in the case of الْقَبِيلَة they say "the Banū so and so," like Banī Tamīm and Banī Salūl. Then

الْعَمَارَة. (comes) after الْقَبَائِل. Its singular is عَمَارَة.

is the noun of action. Then (comes) الْبَطُون. Its singular is بَطْن, which is masculine. Then الْأَنْفُكَاذ, whose singular is

فَضِد, and الْفَصَائِل, whose singular is فَصِيلَة, and then الْعَشِيرَة.

⁶² Arab. فُلَان, Heb. פְּלָן and Aram. *felān* are not of Semitic origin.

This is proved by the two different roots, from which the Heb. and Arab. words are supposed to be derived. *Thesaurus* sets up a root פָּלַח (niph.)

"to be separated, distinct," from which the above-mentioned unused noun פְּלָן properly speaking "one defined; a particular one," the basis

of פְּלָנִי "a certain one" is derived. (GESENIUS-ROBINSON). As פָּלַח occurs in the books I Samuel 21,3 and II Kings 6. ⁹ I am inclined to take it as a real Hebrew word, which has nothing in common with the

borrowed word فُلَان Arab. فُلَان. It was later on connected with

it by popular etymology. The Arabs set up a root فَلَ for فُلَان (LANE). Again, the Assyrian and Ethiopian languages have totally different words for "so and so; a certain one."

I take these words as borrowed from Iranian, especially from MidP. *farroxx* (written *p r an n*), MP. *farrux* "fortunate," which forms the first part of Iranian proper names (JNb. 94 seq.) *Farroxx* is used very frequently in the Sasanian law-code (MhD.) as a man's name with *Mihryōn* and *Aturfarnbay* (BTHL. SRb. 15), just as we would use A, B and C in order to designate certain unknown persons. Then *Farroxx* came to be used alone in the sense of "so and so," and the ambiguity of the Pahlavi writing allowed the possibility of its being read *falān*, hence

Aram *felān* Arab. فُلَان. Arm. *fulan* is borrowed through Arab. فُلَان.

(HBM. Agr. 517). The latter is also borrowed into Portuguese and Spanish as *fullano*. There is another word in MidP. *vahmān* (FrP. 74) "pious, devoted," which is used frequently as an indef. pronoun. "such and such, so and so." It becomes بهمان in MP. and is used with فُلَان

to increase the point of uncertainty (ZENKER).

المسك is a prisoner, whom a man keeps as a slave out of the prisoners allotted to him.

الدرهم الباقية⁶³ are those, the weight of one dirham of them is (equal to) that of a mithqâl; and "the weight of seven" (are those dirhams) ten of which are (equal in weight to) seven mithqâls, and in the same way "the weight of five" and "the weight of eight."

القراميل is a camel with two humps.

الْبَهَّار⁶⁴ is the idol-temple of India. الْفَرْخَار⁶⁵ is the

⁶³ These are the just and standard *dirhams* (ZDMG. IX, 833). Arab درهم is MidP. *drahm*, Arm Lw. *dram*, borrowed from Gr. δραχμή (HBM. Agr. 145; NÖLDEKE, *Tabari* 355).

⁶⁴ AL-BERŪNĪ reads it الْبَهَّار (Chronologie orientalischer Völker, edited by SACHAU, ۲۰۶). It corresponds to Sogd. βγ'γ'r (GAUTHIOT, JA. Juillet-Août 1911, p. 55). The normally developed form* β(y)γ'r from Skr. *vihāra* "a monastery of the Buddhists" does not occur in Sogdian (*ibid.*; cf. no. 65). Later on the town where a monastery was situated came to be also called *Bahār*. Thus YĀQŪT mentions one Bahār in the district (قري) of Marv. (I. ۷۶۷. 8). Again, he says that there

are two towns called نوبهار or "the new Bahār," one near Rayy and the other in the environs of Balkh (VI. ۸۱۷. 17, 20). The meaning

"new spring" attached to نوبهار is owing to its homonym MP. بهار "spring," with which it is erroneously confused (JA. *ibid.* 53-54).

⁶⁵ It corresponds exactly to Sogd. βγ'γ'r (= **Barxār*) or better* β(y)γ'r. The latter is borrowed from Skr. *vihāra* (cf. no. 64). For the initial *f* in *farkhār* instead of the original Sogd. β cf. فغور in no. 11. The word is occasionally used also in the sense of *stūpa*- or *caitya* "a mausoleum," especially one in which a sacred relic is preserved (GAUTHIOT, JA. Juillet-Août 1911, p. 53). As these edifices became in course of time places of pilgrimage and worship for the devoted ones, they were only known to the Mohammedan writers as "idol-temple."

Sogd. βγ'γ'r (= **Barxār*) is not a transcription of Skr. *vihāra*, but the result of an attempt at its translation in Sogdian, corresponding to Chinese *tsing chō* "a *vihāra*." Br should be read **Bar*- and compared to Oset. *bar* "will, wish," and -γ'r is *-xār=Mid P. *-hār* in *zēnhār* "protection, shelter, surety" (JA *ibid.* 55). Thus فرخار has become one of the terms of the erotic vocabulary of the Persian

idol-temple of China, and of upper Sogdia. ⁶⁶الْبُدَّة is the greatest idol of India, to which they make pilgrimages, and every idol is called *budda*.

The classes of men among the Indians.⁶⁷

The nobles are ⁶⁸الْبُرَاهِمَةُ. They are devotees. The singular is بُرْهَمِيّ. ⁶⁹السُّودَرِيَّة—they are agriculturers. ⁷⁰الْبَيْشِيَّة—they are artisans. ⁷¹السُّنْدَالِيَّة—they are musicians. ⁷²الرُّزَّة are keepers of roads. They are a caste of the Sindhis, who are called جُتَّان.

lyrics. It came to mean, according to *Burhān* and *Farhang-e Shu'arā* "adorned; an ornament." But at the same time the original meaning of the word was not lost. A *farkhār* was still "an idol-temple," where beautiful girls dedicated themselves for the cult of idols. Again, a town in Turkistan was also called *Farkhār*, whose inhabitants were noted for their beauty (*Farhang*).

There were many places called *Farkhār* says DAULAT SHĀH in his *Tadhkirat-ush-Shu'ara* (quoted by VULLERS). One *Farkhār* was in Badakhshān above Tālkhān, another was in Khatlān, the third in the district between Khatā and Kāshghar. But the place which is frequently mentioned by poets is *Farkhār* of Turkistan. These four towns mentioned above are precisely distributed in ancient Sogdiana, from the frontiers of China to the Caspian Sea, and from the upper Oxus to Mongolia (JA. *ibid.* 55). QAZWĪNĪ mentions a *Farkhār* as "a kingdom of the Sixth Clime, having many provinces and dependences" (*Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, edited by LE-STRANGE, London 1915, p. 2). One *Farkhār* exists in modern Afghanistan.

⁶⁶ Skr. *Buddha*—“the enlightened one,” the title of the founder of Buddhism. AL-KHWĀR. generalises that every idol in India is called *Budda*. Perhaps he speaks of the Buddhist centres of India. But the word *Budda* is used of pagodas, idols, as well as *Buddha* by Arab writers. (Encycl. of Islam 7. 69 seq.)

⁶⁷ AL-KHWĀR.'s classification is fanciful. The four castes mentioned ordinarily are *brāhmaṇa* (بُرْهَمِيّ), better برهمن as in the ms. C. cf. *Mafātīh* ۱۲۳. no. q), *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya* (الْبَيْشِيَّة) and *śūdra* (السُّودَرِيَّة).

He mentions *candāla* (السُّنْدَالِيَّة) as one of the castes, which is, strictly speaking, the name of an aboriginal tribe of Bengal, called Santal, and leaves out *Kṣatriya*, the warrior-caste.

⁶⁸ They are the Jats (جُتَّان), a nomadic tribe of the Indians, which has penetrated even as far west as Mesopotamia and Palestine. They are found chiefly in Sindh and the adjoining districts of Rajputana.

ماء الكوفة⁶⁹—the district of the city of Kûfa is Ad-Dīnawar.⁷⁰ ماء البصرة—the district of the city of Baṣra is Nihâwand and Hamadhân and Qumm.

زُموُم الاكراد⁷¹—the زُموُم of the Kurds are their settlements. Its singular is زَم.

⁶⁹ AP. *Mâda*, Mid P. *Mâh* (written *ma* in Pahl T. I, 21. 4), Arm. *Maj*, MP. *Mâh* "Media." It is the district from the Holwân pass to Hamadhân and corresponds to the Parthian province of Μηδία ἡ κύτω and Καμβάδηνῃ (MARQUART 18).

⁷⁰ This town was conquered by the people of Baṣra and was given to those of Kûfa by Mu'âwiya, whereas Nihâwand was taken by the people of Kûfa and was given to those of Baṣra (BELÂDHORÎ 306. 9 seq.) Both these districts are also called الماهان or الماهات "the two *Mâhs*" (IBN-AL-FAQ. 199. 6; *A-Tanbîh* 35. 10).

⁷¹ Dozy (s. زَم) translates it by "cantonnement des Kurdes" and says that in every *zemm* there are several villages or towns. According to Yâqût (II, ٨٢١ and III, ٨٣٦) and IBN AL-BALKHÎ, (*Fârsnâma* edited by LE STRANGE and NICHOLSON, London 1921, p. 168) and ms. C of *Mafâtîh* (p. 124. no. a) there are five *ramms* (s. below) of the Kurds, whereas IBN-KHORD. (37. 7-12) says that there are four. The names of two *ramms* only are identical in the first three sources. They are رَم جيلوية (in ms. c) and رَم ذيوان (in Yâqût and in ms. C). رَم الكوانجان in ms. C is most probably the same as رَم اللوالجان in AL-BALKHÎ. رَم الكاريان is mentioned both by Yâqût and AL-BALKHÎ. These *ramms* are named after the tribes or the tribal chiefs, except رَم الادشير in ms. C (better رَم الاردشير), which is named after its locality, the district of Ardashîr Khurra. On the authority of Yâqût, II, ٨٢١ and ISTAKHRÎ quoted by him, it is possible to identify the names of some more *ramms*. رَم بازنجان (variant in P. رَم الباديگان) in AL-BALKHÎ and رَم الذنيجان of ISTAKHRÎ are the same as رَم جيلوية and رَم شهريار; رَم ريحان in Yâqût is رَم الادشير in ms. C, as ISTAKHRÎ says that it is in the district of اردشير خُرة; رَم الصفاق in ms. C is the same as رَم الكاريان in Yâqût and BALKHÎ, because its tribal chief بني الصفار, according to ISTAKHRÎ, must be a variant of الصفار. All these five *ramms* are situated in the province of Fârs and comprise the districts of Iṣbahân, Shîrâz and Bâzanjân (?) (Yâqût II, ٨٢١).

الْخُشْبَات are columns⁷² planted in the sea, on which a lamp is placed during the night, so that the captains of ships may be led thereby.

The زُمُومُ الْاَكْرَاد (better رَمُومُ), Syr. *meëkene de gord* was besides Iṣṭakhr, one of the seats of the eastern Syrian bishops, at about 430 A.D. (MARQUART 27.)

Arab رَمْ, phv. رُمُوم, is, as YÂQTŪT says correctly, a Persian word. DOZY renders it by "contonnement" (s. above), whereas MARQUART by "Zeltlager." Both these words must be translated by "a camp," but I have translated the Arabic word زَم by "settlement," which suits the context better. It is Mid P. *ramak*, MP. رَمَك, رَم "a multitude, crowd, army" (VULLERS); also "a herd of cattle," Syr Lw. *ramkā*, Heb Lw. רִמְכִים (plur. Esther, 8, 10) "a herd, especially of horses." Arm. has three loan-words *eram* "multitude, crowd; herd" (HBM. AGr. 147), *ram*, "common people," and *ramik* "common people; a worldly man, layman." This last word presupposes a Mid P. **ramik* (HBM. AGr. 233). The word got the meaning "tribe" in Arabic, because mostly people of one tribe only flock together in a camp or a settlement. It is for this reason, that most of the Kurdish *ramms* mentioned above are named after their tribal chiefs. Finally the word *ramm* came to be applied also to the settlement itself. Germ. *Gemeinde* offers us a parallel to *ramm* in the development of its meaning "settlement." *Gemeinde* means lit. "a collection of common people; a congregation; a community." It means also "a parish; a village-district." As regards the orthography رُمُوم, زُم, the letter ر in MP. words is very often substituted by ز in Arab. e.g. زُدشِير, for اردشِير (Bibl. Geograph. Arab. IV. Gloss; 250).

اِيل is in modern use for رَم with which it is synonymous. It means further "a nation, people, tribe," and is also used for the inhabitants of a province (VULLERS). AL-BALKHÎ has اَحْيَاءُ الْاَكْرَاد (I. 99. 2) instead of رَمُومُ الْاَكْرَاد (Bibl. geograph. Arab. IV, gloss. 250).

أَسْطَوَانَةٌ⁷² is given as the sing. of اسطاطين in Arabic dictionaries. It corresponds to Mid P. *ostōbān* "firm." I would rather set up اسطون, MP. سْتُون, Mid-P. *stūn*, Av. *stūna* "a pillar, column." This mistake of the Arab writers is due to a certain consonance of these two singular forms.

المُهْرَاج⁷³ is the king of Az-Zābaj⁷⁴ and Az-Zanj.⁷⁵

القُسْطَاط⁷⁶ is in the city of old Cairo.

إيليا⁷⁷ is the city of Jerusalem and it is called Ūrshalīm⁷⁸ in Hebrew. It is the district of Palestine.

الدُّغُور as applied to the land of Syria are those (districts) bordering on the land of Rûm (i.e., Asia Minor). العَوَاصِم⁷⁹ is the district which is behind the frontiers, as if they protect the frontiers. عَوَادِل of the frontiers are those, which are situated at a distance from the frontiers.

الهَرَمَان (—the pyramids). They are two great edifices in Egypt, the height of each one of which is four hundred cubits. They are built of marble, conical in shape. There are many small pyramids round them, and people say that they were built before the deluge and that there are hidden things (treasures?) in them. But some of them say that in them there are graves of the kings of the Copts, who were called Pharaohs.

⁷³ Skr. *mahārājan* "a great king" is borrowed in all modern Indian languages. There was a considerably big Indian colony, especially of the Buddhists, in the islands of the East Indies before their conquest by the Arabs. But *Al-Fikat* is, according to IBN-KHORD., the title of the king of Az-Zābaj (ELLIOT, I. 13).

⁷⁴ It is *Jāwaga* (FERRAND, *Voyages* 142). The name is Malay جَاو "Java; Javanese" with the Skr. suffix *-ka*, which becomes *-ga* in Malay.

⁷⁵ "The race of the *Zanjs* are the inhabitants of the island called *Barbar* (the country of Berbera) and neighbours of the blacks" (IBN-ROSTA, quoted by FERRAND, *Textes relatifs à l'Extrême Orient*, Paris 1913, I. 68). *Bu zeng* in MP. means "the black, a negro," and their land is called *Zengbār*, Arab. زَنْجَبَار "Zanzibar."

⁷⁶ Another form of قُسْطَاط, Aram. פֶּסְטִין It is Byz. Gr. φουσάτων, from Lat. *fossatum* "a camp, an encampment" (Dozy).

⁷⁷ It is *Ælia Capitolina*, the name given to it by Emperor Hadrian. It was built on the site of Jerusalem in 131 A.D., and occupied by a Roman colony. *Ælia* is derived from the emperor's family name and *Capitolina* from that of Jupiter Capitolinus, to whom a temple was built on the site of the Jewish temple (Encycl. Brit. XI ed.)

⁷⁸ Heb. ירושלים or ירושליה

القبط⁷⁹—the Copts are the people of the villages of Egypt.

الشمارة⁸⁰ were the kings of the Syrians. Its singular is شمروء.

79 Also قبط, plur. أَقْبَاط (Dozy). They were the early Christians of Egypt and pure descendants of the ancient Egyptians. قبط is derived from Gr. Αἰγύπτιοι "Egyptians."

80 Heb. נִמְרוֹד or נִמְרֹד. Its etymology and meaning are totally unknown. *Thesaurus* places it under מִרְד of which the Hebrews may have thought. It is in fact a pre-Babylonian name. Nimrod is the son of נוש and styled "hero and hunter" in Gen. 10, 9. He is called Νεβρωδ in the Greek version of the Bible.

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THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1927.

The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute beg to submit their report on the working of the Institute for the year 1927.

Public Lectures.—During the year under report, nine public lectures were delivered under the auspices of the Institute as under :—

1. “Ethnographical Explorations in Afghanistan and Kafiristan,” by Baron Dr. Jnr. Carl. Gustav v. Platen. 12th March, 1927.

2. “The Historical Epic with particular reference to the Shah Nâme,” by Prof. Firoze Cowasji Davar, M.A., LL.B. of the Gujerat College, Ahmedabad. President : Mr. Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan, M.A., LL.B. (Solicitor). 25th April, 1927.

3. “True History of Rustam Manak,” by Principal Shapurshah Hormasji Hodivala, M.A. President : Revd. Fr. H. Heras, S.J. 3rd May, 1927.

4. “Some New Facts relating to Parsi History,” by Principal Shapurshah Hormasji Hodivala, M.A. President : Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, M.A. 4th May, 1927.

5-8. A series of the following four lectures was delivered by Dr. Jamshed Manekji Unvala, B.A., Ph.D. :—

“History of the Ancient City of Susa,” on 11th July, 1927.

“History and Results of Excavations at Susa,” on 12th July, 1927.

“The Ruins of the Palace of Darius Hystaspes and other ancient Ruins in Khujistan,” on 14th July, 1927.

“Methods of the Disposal of the Dead in Susa,” President : Mr. M. P. Khareghat, I.C.S. (Retd.), on 15th July, 1927.

Lectures 5 to 8 were illustrated with magic lantern slides. At the end of the last lecture of Dr. Unwala, above stated, the following resolution was passed :—

“This meeting of Parsis assembled to hear the lectures of Dr. Jamshed M. Unwala, B.A., Ph.D. expresses its sense of gratefulness to the Ministry of Public Instruction of the French Government for having kindly given to Dr. Unwala all facilities to observe and study the work of archæological excavation at Susa under the kind and distinguished guidance of Mon. de Mecquenem.”

9. “The Main Currents of Ancient Indian Thought,” by Prof. Ernest P. Horowitz of Hunter College and City of New York College.” President : Revd. (Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D. 21st July, 1927.

Government Fellowship Lectures.—Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., who was appointed Government Fellowship Lecturer for 1926, had delivered the first of his series of lectures on “The Influence of Iran on other Countries” on the 23rd December, 1926, the subject of the first lecture being “The Sphere and Scope of the Influence of Iran”. He delivered four further lectures as under :—

1. “Civilization and Culture of Iran” on 3rd October, 1927.
2. “Influence on Egypt and Babylon” on 7th October, 1927.
3. “Influence on Palestine and Arabia” on 10th October, 1927.
4. “Influence on India” on 13th October, 1927.

Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-law, who was appointed Government Fellowship Lecturer for 1927, delivered a series of lectures on “Some Aspects of the History of Zoroastrianism” as under :—

1. “Place of Iran in Ancient Culture” on 5th December, 1927.
2. “Indo-Iranian Religion and the Reform of Zarathushtra” on 8th December, 1927.

3. "Elam, Babylon and Egypt" on 12th December, 1927.
4. "Mithraism and its Implications" on 15th December, 1927.
5. "Later Zoroastrianism and Zoroastrianism to-day", on 16th December, 1927.

Prof. Ernest P. Horowitz of the Hunter College, City of New York, America, has been appointed Government Fellowship Lecturer for 1928.

Publications.—The Committee have resolved to undertake the publication of the following :—

1. An English version of Prof. Geldner's German Treatise on "Die Zoroastrische Religion (Das Avesta)."

2. Half-yearly or Yearly Reports about Iranian Articles and Books published in French, German and other languages.

The works 1 and 2 have been entrusted to Mr. J. C. Tavadia, B.A.

3. The Persian Burzo Nâme, for which the two volumes of the text have been received from the Columbia University through the kind offices of Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson. A Mahomedan Persian scribe is engaged to copy out the work fair. This work will be printed when funds permit.

4. The Navar and Nirangdin Fahrest of the Athornans of Navsari owned by Ervad Meherjibhoy Naoroji Kutar.

5. English Translation of classical passages on Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism included in Prof. Jackson's "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran," in Clemen's "Fontes Historiae Religionis Persicae" and in Dr. Gray's collection in Le Museon.

The work was entrusted to Dean W. Sherwood Fox, Ph.D., D.Litt., F.R.S.C. of the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada. He has finished the work in collaboration with Prof. R. E. K. Pemberton, M.A., and it will be published in the Journal of the Institute.

Celebration of the Anniversary of the death of Mr. K. R. Cama.—The eighteenth anniversary of the death of the late Mr. K. R. Cama was celebrated on Wednesday, the 17th August, 1927* at 6 p.m. (S.T.) in the hall of the Institute, when Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University presided. Dr. Miss Charlotte Krause, Ph.D., delivered a discourse on “Indo-Iranian Views on Macrocosm and Microcosm according to Prof. Hertel’s recent Researches.”

The Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize (Rs. 225) for 1928.—The following subject has been announced for the Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize for 1928 :—

“A lucid and thoroughly intelligible translation in English of the following Yashts, in due accordance with grammar and philology, with notes and comments wherever necessary :

Aban Yasht.

Khorshed Yasht.

Mah Yasht.

Tir Yasht.

Gosh Yasht.

Meher Yasht.

The Competition is kept open to all scholars in India, Europe, and America, who have been invited to send in their work on or before the 31st December, 1928. The prize offered is Rs. 225.

The Naoroji Pestonji Cama and Navazbai Naoroji Cama Prize (Rs. 1,000).—A prize of Rs. 1,000 has been announced for the following subject :—

“The History of the Peshdadian and Kyanian Kings of Persia, based on all sources, especially Avesta, Pahlavi and Pazend.”

The competition is kept open for all communities and the competitors are invited to send in their work by 30th June, 1929.

Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Prize.—The Executive Committee have resolved that the amount of interest on the Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Endowment be allowed to accumulate for five years and then a prize essay be invited for a consolidated prize of Rs. 250 for the year 1931.

Members of the Institute.—In the beginning of the year, there were 238 Life members. Owing to the death of six members

and increase of one, the number of Life members stood at 233 at the end of the year.

There were 70 Annual Members in the beginning of the year and at the end of the year, the number of Annual Members was 71.

New Life Member.—Dr. Erach J. S. Taraporewalla, B.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law.

New Annual Members.—Erach Ardeshar Nadirshah, Esqr., Shah Behram Arbab Kaikhushro Shah Rookh Esqr.

Committee Meetings.—Seven meetings of the Executive Committee were held in 1927.

*Donations :—*The Executive Committee of the Institute offer their best thanks to the following donors for kindly donating towards the cost of printing Ervad B. N. Dhabhar, M.A.'s work in connection with the Hozmazdyar Framroze Revayet :—

The Trustees of Sir Ratan Tata Charities : Rs. 2,250.

The Trustees of the Seth Mancherji Framji Cama Athornan Institute : Rs. 1,000.

The Trustees of the N. M. Wadia Charities : Rs. 500.

The Trustees of the Parsi Panchayet Funds and Properties have been pleased to express their desire to buy, when ready, Rs. 700 worth of copies of the work.

The Committee's thanks are also due to the "Children and Sister of the late Bai Aimai K. R. Cama" for their kind donation of Rs. 50 in memory of the 32nd anniversary of her demise.

*Gifts of Books and Journals :—*The best thanks of the Committee are due to the institutions and private individuals, who have presented the following books, journals, reports, etc. to the Institute :—

BOOKS PRESENTED BY THE TRUSTEES OF THE PARSİ PANCHAYET.

Arabische Schriftsteller Uber die Geographie Indiens. Ein Beitrag Zur Arabischen Literaturgeschichte.

Altbabylonische Briefe Teil I.

Beitrage Zur Kenntnis Arabischer Eigennamen Teil I.

Beitrage Zum Sprachlichen Verstandnis der Sumerisch—Ak-
kadischen Beschwörungstexte.

Beurteilung der Bilderfrage im Islam nach der Ansicht eines
Muslim.

Chinesische Kreditvereinigung.

Das Gelubde nach alterer arabischer Auffassung.

Die Frauenfrage in Osmanischen Reiche mit besonderer
Berücksichtigung der Arbeitenden Klasse.

Die Mongolen und ihre Eroberungen in Kaukasischen und
Kleinasiatischen Landren im XIII Jahrhundert.

Die Ostgrenze Agyptens.

Die Provinzeinteilung Des Assyrischen Reiches (Teil I).

Die Quellen Der Mahanarayana-Upanisad Und Das Verhält-
nis Der Verschiedenen Rezensionen Zueinander.

Die Schreiben Muhammads an die Stamme Arabiens.

Die Tempora im Semitischen Ihre Entstehung Und Ihre Aus-
gestaltung in Den Einzelsprachen.

Die Topographie Ninewes zur Zeit Sanheribs und Seiner
Nachfolger unter Besonderer Berücksichtigung des Achteitigen
Sanheribprismas K 103000.

Neubabylonische Briefe Zwanzig Briefe in Cuneiform Texts
XXII Kollationiert Und Bearbeitet (Teil I).

Studien Zur Agyptischen Verwaltungsgeschichte in Ptole-
maisch-romischer Zeit.

Über das Verhältnis Zwischen Carudatta und Mrochakatika
von George Morgenstierne.

Untersuchungen An 94 Agyptischen Mumien Aus El Hesa.

Der Einfluss Des Arischen Indiens Auf Die Nachbarlander Im Suden Und Osten.

Wandlungen der Medizin und des Hirztestandes inden lekten-50 Jahren

Feuerbach und Savigun.

Ludwig Maximilians Universitat Munchen. Ukademische Feier des Reichsgründungstages 1914.

Chronik der Ludwig Maximilians Universität Munchen fur das Tahr 1892-93, 1893-94, 94-95, 95-96, 96-97, 97-98, 98-99, 1899-1900, 1900-01, 01-02, 1903-04, 04-05, 05-06, 06-07, 07-08, 1911-12 and 1912-1913 (17 separate books).

Les Indo-Européens.

The Character of Vohu-Manah and its evolution in Zoroastrianism.

Iranian views of Origins in connection with similar Babylonian Beliefs.

Le Nom De Cronos.

The Moral Deities of Iran and India and their Origins.

Pre-Aryan Origins of the Persian Perfect.

The Iranian Gods of Healing.

L'Idée Du " Royaume De Dieu " dans L'Iran.

Paradis D'Orient—Paradis D'Occident.

Sketches in History. Chiefly Ecclesiastical.

The Popes in the Divina Commedia of Dante.

The Religion of the Greek Kings.

Early Zoroastrianism—A Review.

The Ninth Gatha of the Avesta.

Art III the First Gatha of the Avesta.

Note Sur La Terminaison Ambigue En Pehlevi.

Compte Rendu Du Quatriem Congrès Scientifique International Des Catholiques. Chez les Indo-Éraniens de L'Antiquité und Cyena-Simurg Roc.

Salutar La Pierre de Toughe Du Cheval.

Traité De Médecine Mazdéenne.

Leaves from my Eastern Garden.

Moods and Tenses.

Pax Christi. (The Catholic Church and Peace).

The Church and the Printing Press.

IV. The Literary Activity of Parsis during the past ten years in Avestic and Pehlevi Studies.

Obituary Notices.

James Hope Moulton as an Iranian Scholar.

Religion of the Achæmenid Kings.

Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie:—

Kleinere Dialekte Und Dialektgruppen.

Die Sprache Der Afghanen.

Geographie Von Iran.

Die Sprache Der Balutschen.

Über Ein Sasanidisches Rechtsbuch.

Zum Sasanidischen Recht I to V.

Zur Kenntnis der Mitteliranischen Mundarten I to V.

Author Catalogue of printed books in European Language 1904, Part I. Vols. I and II.

First Supplement to the Author Catalogue Part I Vols. I and II. 1917-18.

Subject Index to the Author Catalogue 1908-10. Part II, Vols. I & II.

Catalogue Raisonné of the Būhar Library Vol. I, Persian Mss. 1921.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft Band 69-74 Heft 1 to 4; Band 75 Mit 1 Tafel und 3 Figuren im Text. Band 76-78 Neue Folge (1,3), Band 79 Neue Folge, Band 4, Heft 1-2; Band 80 neue Folge Band 5 Heft 1-3.

Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik Band 1-3 (Heft. 1, 2) Band 3 Heft 2 (Schluss Bandes). Band 4, Heft 2.

Journal Asiatique Recueil De Memoires et De Notices Relatives Aux Etudes Orientales Publie Par La Societe Asiatique Tome CCV No. 2, CCVI, Nos. 1 & 2, CCVII No. 1 & 2.

Catalogue of 2 collections of Persian and Arabic Mss. in the India Office Library.

Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the India Office Library. Vol. I.
Zur Kenntnis der Mitteliranischen Mundarten VI.

On Certain Persian and American Month-Names as influenced by the Avesta Calendar.

Notes on the old Persian Inscriptions of Bahistun.

Reprint from the Journal of the American Oriental Society Vol. XXX, Part IV, 1910, Vol. XXXIII, Part III, 1913.

The American Journal of Philology. Vol. XXX 4. Whole No. 120.

I. Indo Iranian Studies.

Some recent studies on the Iranian Religions.

The origin of the names of the Avesta months.

Iranian material in the Fihrist.

The Jews in Pahlavi Literature.

Additional Classical passages mentioning Zoroaster's name.

Zoroastrian Elements in Muhammedan Eschatology.

Zoroastrian and other Ethnic Religious Material in the Acta Sanctorum.

Deux Etymologies Mithriaques.

BOOKS PRESENTED.

Pococke Description of the East, Vols. I & II. and Salt's Travels (Abyssinia). (presented by Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi).

Government Oriental Series—class C. No. 2 “The Buddhābhūṣaṇa of King Sambhu (H. D. Velankar, M.A.) presented by the Director of Public Instruction.

ઝોરાસ્ટ્રીઅન કેલેન્ડર યાને પારસી પંચાંગ ય ઝ ૧૨૮૭, ૧૨૮૯, ૧૨૯૪, (presented by Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi).

Report of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions.—1924-25 A.D. (presented by the Director of Archaeology).

Comprehensive Introduction to Hafiz Odes by Mr. B. D. Verma, M.A., M.F. (presented by the author).

Roses in Persian Poetry by Mr. B. D. Verma, M.A. (presented by the author).

૧. ઋચુસત્રની જાહેશી—૨. અહુરને અગવે (એક આહીત) (presented by a member of the Esaan Community.)

A Grammar of the Huzvarash or Proper Pehlvi Language, (presented by Mr. N. M. Menti).

A Descriptive Catalogue of Persian Mss. preserved in the Kapurthala State Library (presented by Dr. Dhanjishah Mehta of Navsari).

“Hindu Mind” by Mr. C. N. A. R. Sastri, M.A. (presented by the author).

“Life of Bhai Taru Singh, the Martyr or Non-Violence Vindicated,” by Kartar Singh, B.A., B.T.

“The Ideals of Sikhism” by K. M. Pannikkar, M.A.

“Are Three Sects in Sikhism” by Teja Singh, M.A.

“The Sidh Ghost or a Dialogue between Guru Nanak and Yogis,” by Sautokh Singh, B.A.

“Tributes to the Memory of Guru Gobind Singh” by Bhagat Lakshman Singh.

“Martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev” by Harnam Singh, M.A., B.Sc.

“The Sikh Prayer” by Teja Singh, M.A.

"Guru Gobind Singh and the National Movement," by S. Sardul Singh Caveessieur.

(The above 8 booklets are presented by Siri Guru Singh Sabha, Bombay, through Mr. Samar Singh Sallis).

"The Genealogy of the Navsari Parsi Priests" (presented by a friend through Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi).

"The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life" by Dr. Jal K. Parvi, A.M., Ph.D. (presented by the Trustees of the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute).

"Talks on At the Feet of the Master" by Rt. Revd. C.W. Leadbeater (presented by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar).

Vohu Esforna (Esean Community) (presented by the Esean Community of Vindyer).

Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for 1926.

Nauminch-i-Adhyât Tajik (presented by the U. S. S. R. Society for cultural relation with Foreign Countries).

Gujerati Translation of Burjo Nameh Vols. 1 to 3 and 5 to 18 (presented by Mrs. Dhanjibhoy Hormusji Wadia).

Avesta in Songs (presented by Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi).

Asiatic Papers Part, III (presented by Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi).

L'ezour Vedam ou Ancien Commentaire du vedam Tome I and II (presented by Mr. Framroze A. Vakil).

The Gaudavaho of Vakpati (presented by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute).

Die Philipps Universitat ZU Marburg 1527-1927 (presented by Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., Ph.D.)

Word Index to Patanjali's Vyakarana-Mahabhasya, Government Oriental Series—Class C. No. III (presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona).

Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Volume III, Government Oriental Series Class C. No. VI. (Presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona).

JOURNALS.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society. Second Series. Vol. XVII. No. 3.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal :— (Philological No.) New Series. Vol. XXI, 1925, No. 1.

(Official No.) New Series. Vol. XXI, 1925, No. 2.

(Philological No.) New Series. Vol. XXI, 1925, No. 3.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft. Neue Folge Band 6-Heft 1, (Band 81) and Heft 2 (Band 82).

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1926-27, Vol. VIII, Parts III & IV.

The Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. I Part III & Part IV.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 46. No. 4 (December, 1926), Vol. 47, Nos. 1-3 (March, June, and September 1927).

Studi e Materiali di Storia Delle Religioni (C. Formichi, R. Pettazzoni, G. Tucci). Anno II—1926, Vol. II, Fascicolo 3° e 4°. Anno III.—1927, Vol. III, Fasc. 1 and 2.

રાહે જ.રથુશ્ત્ર માર્ચ, જુન, સેપ્ટેમ્બર ૧૯૨૭.

The Asiatic Review, Vol. XXIII, No. 74 (April, 1927), No. 75 (July, 1927), No. 76 (Oct. 1927).

Russian Journals.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XII, Part IV, (December, 1926).

An Open Letter to His Highness the Aga Khan, G.C.S.I.

Sudmand (Mah Ardibehesht, Khordât and Shahrivar, 1307).

Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen :—January 1924 to August 1927 numbers.

Nachrichten von der gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Zu Göttingen :—

1924 (Heft I & II); 1925 (Heft I & II); 1926 (Heft I, II & III); 1927 (Heft I).

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution. Vol. IV, Part III.

Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. I Part II April, 1927.

Mazdasnan June and October, 1927

Sudmand ; Zardusht : Ardibehesht and Khordât, 1306.

Le Monde Oriental, Vol. XX, Fasc. 1-3.

Journal Asiatique, July-September, 1926. October-December, 1926. CCX. 1. (January-March, 1927).

British Mazdasnan Vol. 3, No. 5 January, 1927.

„ „ Vol. 3, No. 8-12, (April-August) 1927.

„ „ Vol. 4, No. 1-4 (Sept.-December), 1927.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. III, No. 1. March, 1927.

Bulletin de l'Universite de l'Asie Centrale (Tachkent) Livraison 1, 2, 4-10, 14 and 15.

Numismatic Supplement for 1925.

Manual or Orthopaedics.

Orientalistische Neuigkeiten, 1923-1927.

Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians (3rd edition).

Journal of the Telugu Academy.

Rahanuma (April, July and October, 1926 ; January, April, July, and October, 1927).

BOOKS PURCHASED.

The following books have been purchased during the year under report :

The Mythology of all races Vol. VI—Indian (by Keith) and Iranian (by Carnoy).

Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the Curzon Collection, Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Ancient Persian and Iranian Civilization.

Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vols. 23-28.

Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXVIII.

JOURNAL.

Ayandeh, Vol: II, No. 2 (March, 1927), No. 5-6.

The Audited Accounts are attached hereto.

THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL

Income and Expenditure Account for

| EXPENDITURE. | | | | | | | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|--------|----|----|
| To Rent | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3,300 | 0 | 0 |
| „ Salaries and Wages | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3,017 | 6 | 10 |
| „ General Charges | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 510 | 4 | 0 |
| „ Books and Periodicals | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,206 | 7 | 1 |
| „ Postage and Stamps | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 85 | 7 | 6 |
| „ Printing and Stationery | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 116 | 15 | 0 |
| „ Clothing to Peons | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| „ Insurance* | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 34 | 6 | 0 |
| „ Depreciation of Furniture at 5% | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 95 | 8 | 0 |
| „ Excess of Income over expenditure transferred to General Fund | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2,817 | 2 | 6 |
| | | | | | | | 11,243 | 8 | 11 |

* The furniture and books are insured for Rs. 15,000.

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,

Honorary Treasurer.

INSTITUTE.

the year ending 31st December 1927.

| INCOME. | | | | | | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---------|---|----|----|----|----|--------|----|----|
| By | Life and Annual Membership Subscriptions | .. | .. | | | 960 | 0 | 0 |
| „ | Donations | .. | .. | .. | .. | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| „ | Interest on Investments | .. | .. | .. | .. | 8,364 | 8 | 11 |
| „ | Fees for the use of the Institute Hall.. | .. | .. | | | 98 | 0 | 0 |
| „ | Income transferred from Dr. E. J. Khorl Account | .. | | | | 861 | 12 | 0 |
| „ | Administration Charges recovered | .. | .. | .. | | 819 | 7 | 0 |
| „ | Sundry Receipts | .. | .. | .. | .. | 39 | 13 | 0 |
| | | | | | | 11,243 | 8 | 11 |

Examined and found correct.

GHARDA, DAVAR & Co.,
Incorporated Accountants (London),
Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 14th February 1928

INSTITUTE.

31st December 1927.

| ASSETS. | | Rs. | a. | p. | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---|-------|----------|----|----|----------|----|----|
| CASH :— | | | | | | | |
| With the Imperial Bank of India :— | | | | | | | |
| General Fund Account | | 1,103 | 2 | 8 | | | |
| Bai Aimal K.R. Cama Fund Account. | | 714 | 10 | 9 | | | |
| Surrosh K. R. Cama Fund Account. | | 927 | 15 | 2 | | | |
| | | | | | 2,745 | 12 | 7 |
| INVESTMENTS (AT COST) :— | | | | | | | |
| Rs. 1,17,800 4% Bombay Port Trust Bonds | | 1,18,088 | 12 | 0 | | | |
| Rs. 84,300 3% Ten Years Bonds .. | | 84,512 | 6 | 6 | | | |
| Rs. 74,200 3½% Government Promissory Notes .. | | 58,806 | 15 | 0 | | | |
| Rs. 500 5% Government Promissory Notes | | 500 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Rs. 500 4% Improvement Trust Bonds | | 500 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | | 2,62,408 | 1 | 6 |
| FURNITURE AND FIXTURES :— | | | | | | | |
| Balance on 1st January, 1927 .. | | 1,624 | 10 | 4 | | | |
| Additions during the year | | 285 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | | 1,909 | 10 | 4 |
| Less—Depreciation | | 95 | 8 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | | 1,814 | 2 | 4 |
| | | | | | 2,66,968 | 0 | 5 |

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Institute and have found the same correct. We have also verified the Cash and the Securities.

GHARDA, DAVAR & Co.,
Incorporated Accountants (London),
Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 14th February 1928.

